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THE ROLE AND EFFECTS OF LITERACY IN A GUATEMALAN LADINO PEASANT COMMUNITY.

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AN INVESTIGATION WAS MADE OF LITERACY IN A REPRESENTATIVE VILLAGE OF RURAL GUATEMALA. THE COMMUNITY, EL JOCOTE, HAS A SUBSISTENCE ECONOMY DOMINATED BY CUSTOM AND TRADITION AND HAS ONLY MINIMAL CONTACT WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD. MEMBERS OF FOUR FAMILIES FURNISHED DATA BASED ON LITERACY TESTS AND BOTH STRUCTURED AND UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEWS. FINDINGS INDICATED THAT THERE WERE STRONG RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN LITERACY AND GENERAL LEVEL OF FUNCTIONING IN THE COMMUNITY. LITERATE PERSONS PLACED HIGH EMPHASIS UPON THE IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOLS FOR BOTH CHILDREN AND ADULTS, AND REALIZED THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SCHOOLING AND HEALTH, ECONOMIC STATUS AND GENERAL WELL BEING. OTHERS IN THE PEASANT COMMUNITY DO NOT CLEARLY UNDERSTAND WHAT LITERACY CAN MEAN TO THEM. (JK)

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The Role and Effects of Literacy in a Guatemalan Ladino Peasant Community

Cooperative Research Project S-027 (OE-4-10-135)

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INTRODUCTION

This study was undertaken in July 1962 to examine the meaning of literacy in El Jocote, a largely illiterate Ladino peasant community in Eastern Guatemala. The stated objectives of the investigation undertaken by a husband and wife at their own expense were (1) to assess the reciprocal role and effects of literacy in Ladino peasant community and (2) to evaluate methods of literacy research. The objectives were in the wrong order. Other than the accepted methods of interview, informants and observations there were no field tested instruments available designed to accomplish the first objective. Moreover, while much is known about peasant communities in Western Guatemala, Mexico and other parts of the world, knowledge about the Ladino peasant of Eastern Guatemala was based largely upon surveys and census data. The selection, field testing and evaluation of instruments for these purposes and suitable for administration to this population must be considered the major product of the study. The evaluation of the role and effects, the meaning, the impact of literacy will be a continuing process. The information gathered in the course of this study about the population and instruments for research among this population made possible an evaluation of a literacy program in 1964 for AID, Guatemala and has prompted the approval by the AID Research Advisory Committee of a proposal to continue the study in 1965 and 1966.

The importance of literacy research is underscored by mounting concern for the underdeveloped areas of the world as well as the problems that relate opportunity and poverty in our own country. Between seventy and seventy-five percent of the world's population is illiterate and concentrated in peasant communities where attachment to the land, the value of work, respect for authority, the value of "being" rather than "becoming" provide a gravitational center which provides the security of likemindedness and familiar pathways.

and about which life revolves.

While the importance of literacy in man's personal, social and economic development is unquestioned by those in modern societies who have been educated to the purposes of literacy, it is doubtful whether this assumption is fully shared by either literate or illiterate members of the peasant community. While Daniel Lerner maintains that "literacy is the basic personal skill that underlies the whole modernization process,"[1] administrators of foreign aid programs as well as local governing elite are ambivalent about literacy for the peasant. Moreover, there are few studies on the effect or meaning of literacy in the lives of those who share the continuum of life and the average per family income of about $100 which marks peasant existence. Carothers suggests that the presence or absence of literacy in a society constitutes one, if not the major, cultural factor in producing varying attributes of mental health. He cites the power of the written word in contemporary African societies, the effect of the development of writing in ancient societies, and the studies of Riesman and Piaget.[2] Data developed by Benitez show that higher literacy correlated with lower mortality in Mexico.[3] A report of the proceedings of the seminar on literacy held in New Delhi in 1962 assumes the importance of adult literacy to social and economic progress and notes that research in literacy "appears to be restricted to the study of word counts, survey of existing literature and new literature and reading interests and habits."[4]

In Guatemala, while little is known about the meaning of literacy to the Ladino peasant of Eastern Guatemala and knowledge about his life is meager, the effect of literacy on the quiet and stable campesino has long been of concern to Guatemala's ruling elite. Throughout Guatemalan history, education, first in Indian and later in Spanish Colonial society was reserved for an elite class. Independence in 1821 provided a new definition of the elite but did little to improve the educational outlook for the campesino. While measures were taken to provide rural education beginning in 1875, the literacy rate in rural communities of less than 2500 population fifty years later averaged only eighteen percent. It was not until 1944 that a Guatemalan government committed itself to the proposition that literacy for all Guatemalans was a desireable national goal. The National Literacy Act of 1944 declared illiteracy a national emergency and set as its goal a literacy rate of ninety-five percent for the entire adult population. Its purposes stated in the preamble to the Act were "to make an effective government of the people, by the people and for the people, putting our citizens in the position to exercise their rights and duties....and to cooperate in the social and economic reform that the post-war days will undeniably bring for the entire world." The Act also stated that "dictatorships suffered by the country did not hesitate to resort to reprehensible methods to move the illiterate electoral masses that sanctioned their perpetuity in power."[5]

With a change of government in 1954, the National Literacy Act was abruptly suppressed with no analysis of its effectiveness. Decree 45 stated in [illegible] part,"...the literacy campaign carried out in the zones affected by the agrarian reform has not rendered the fruits that were hoped of it...and has been unproductive in regard to the civic and cultural orientation of the campesinos." The decree also stated that the National Literacy Act would be suppressed until "... a study is made of a reorganization and adequate regulation of these services.' The charge, in short, was that the literacy campaign had been used as a political instrument and was suppressed for political reasons.[6]

The National Literacy Act has not been restored. The only literacy campaign for adults sponsored by the government from 1954 to 1962 was that conducted by and within the Guatemalan Army at an estimated cost of $100.00 per month. In 1959, with U. S. support, a new literacy course was designed and tested for two years in the armed forces and in the penitentiary in Guatemala City. In 1962 when this investigation was begun, the new literacy program for adults was introduced on a pilot basis to the civilian population of the Department of Jutiapa where it has since operated. In September 1964, before completion of the government sponsored survey then in progress of the program's effectiveness, AID Guatemala expressed low priority interest in adult literacy and announced that AID Guatemala support of adult literacy had been phased out, effective July 1965.

The Ladino peasant communities of eastern Guatemala differ markedly in language and custom from Indian communities of Guatemala's central and western highlands. While many household utensils and certain agricultural practices of the peasant in eastern Guatemala are of Indian origins, his paternal ancestry, language, dress and pattern of life can be traced to the workers on the Spanish Colonial haciendas. In these respects and in his subsistence economy, isolation, illiteracy and problems of development, the Ladino peasant may be considered more typical of peasants throughout CentralAmerica than the Indians of Guatemala. For these reasons, the Department of Jutiapa was selected for the pilot literacy program by AID Guatemala and by the investigators for this study.

Four months before the investigators began their study in El Jocote, a night literacy center for adults was started. The voluntary literacy teacher, a man with three years of schooling and the community's most active literate, became the investigator's principal informant and assistant. During July and August 1962 and from June first to August 1963 the investigator and his wife assisted teaching the class six nights a week. The literacy program collapsed in September 1963. While the literacy class provided entry to the community through a participant-observer role and furnished information about the community' interest in literacy and education, it was not a focal point of the study nor could it offer within the period of the study a population for an investigation of the role and effects of literacy. Such a population had to be drawn from among those who had already achieved literacy, those who had lost the skills of literacy and the vast majority of the population who had received no education.

The study proceeded from the hypothesis that life in El Jocote, a typical Ladino peasant community, responds to a gravitational center of custom and tradition reinforced by demographic and economic factors, and that literacy, while a potential counter force, is drawn to the service of these conditions. Where custom and tradition are strong, values closely held, and alternate more desirable modes of life not perceived, literacy will have little observed effect on customs or values. However, if more desirable alternate modes of life are perceived, the literate will be less resistant to change. While the role and effects of literacy and custom may be reciprocal, custom is the dominant force in this relationship. In short, the tools and skills of literacy are captives of the culture that employs them.

This study sought to examine custom, population and economic change among four families in one community over the past sixty years and the relationships observed over a period of three years between literacy and (1) perceived effect of literacy upon agricultural and economic practices, (2) status and authority, (3) understanding of health practices and nutrition, (4) family size, (5) the perceived role and effects of education and literacy.

The second chapter of this report is devoted to discussion of the methods employed: their selection, problems of field testing, and evaluation. The third chapter provides a description of the community: its history, economics, social structure, life cycle and role activities, health and nutrition, education, and ethos. The fourth chapter provides a history of the four families which provided the population from which samples were drawn for testing. The fifth chapter deals with the effects of literacy among the four families and is based upon quantitative data from interviews, informants, school records and quantification of responses to a picture card interview. The final chapter provides a brief summary of the findings of the investigation.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER I

1. Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East (Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1958) p. 64.

2. J. C. Carothers, "Culture, Society and The Written Word," in Psychiatry (1959), 22.

3. Z. R. Benitez, "Tabla de Vida en la Republica Mexicana"(1950) Revista Mexicana de Sociologia, v. 21, (1959).

4. National Fundamental Education Centers, Adult Literacy (New Delhi, India, 1962).

5. Decreto Numero 72, La Junta Revolucionaria De Gobierno, 1945, cited by Victor Manual Valverde, El Analfabetismo en Guatemala (Guatemala, 1961) p. 18.

6. Decreto Numero 45, La Junta De Gobierno De La Republico De Guatemala, 1952, cited by Victor Manual Valverde, El Analfabetismo en Guatemala (Guatemala, 1961) p. 33.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

At the start of the investigation, little information other than census data was available about the peasant communities of Eastern Guatemala or the Ladino peasant of the area. Moreover no tested instruments were available for assessing the role and effects of literacy among such a population.

The research methods employed were intended to provide information about the population as well as about literacy and may be classified as (1) standard methods, those commonly employed in the study of a culture: informants, the standard interview, observation, family histories and autobiography, and demographic data from government sources and (2) those methods which had not been previously tested in literacy research or in the study of peasant communities and were therefore experimental.

A major purpose of this study was to select, evaluate and report as follows on the several methods employed: (1) the reasons for selecting certain instruments, (2) the field testing of the instruments to determine their effectiveness for eliciting information, subject reaction and the economy of administration, and (3) experimentation with modes of analysis of the data in both quantitative and qualitative manner.

A description of the largely illiterate peasant community and its inhabitants foreshadows the problems of literacy research: a subsistence economy in which the work of each day takes precedence over other activities; an open response on the one hand to questions that deal with familiar patterns of peasant existence but tension and frustration to questions and tests that are outside this pattern; the continuum of peasant life and the lack of a sense of appointed time; deference to and fear of compromise with perceived authority within and from outside the community; a family-based social structure with its factions and spheres of influence; the inexperience and lack of importance attached to measurement and quantification; the lack of a common definition of literacy and, finally, the concrete mind of the illiterate in an isolated peasant community.

The degree to which each of these problems affected research design, sampling procedures, the administration of tests and interviews, and subjects' response was determined by the nature and number of the instruments employed and the elapsed time in which they could be administered without contamination and playback.

Following a brief description of the general research design, the sampling procedures, and interview and test administration, the extent to which each of these was affected by the problems mentioned above will be discussed.

General Design

El Jocote, a Ladino peasant community estimated to be within the limits of study by a man and wife team was selected in June 1962 from among eighteen communities visited in the Department of Jutiapa. Headquarters were established at the home of the volunteer literacy teacher, a life-time resident of the community, The research team was able to assist six nights a week with the literacy classes, thus assuming roles of participant observers.

Between July 1 and August 20, 1962, after mapping the location of houses in the community, an interview schedule was designed in the field and administered to the head of every third household. Interviews were conducted in the selected homes. This, coupled with observations and photographs, was intended to provide general information about family size and organization, education, literacy, travel, exposure to communication, land ownership, agricultural practices, health, sanitation, and child care among literates and non-literates. Included in the interview schedule were questions dealing with change, life aspirations and value of education. A literacy census of the community was conducted the same year. A record of births, death and marriages was obtained from the Registro Civil, Quezada.

Responses to opinion questions indicated the need to further probe attitudes toward education, literacy and change. The 1962 interviews and observation also revealed the need for more data on the role of authority (father, patrón, government), perceived dimensions of time, self-other orientations and personal variables as these relate to literacy and the perceived role of education and literacy.

The history of the community suggested an unusual opportunity for study the following year of the relationship between literacy and economic well-being and improvement. A base line for a study of land ownership, education and literacy over four generations could be established in the period between 1895 and 1900 when the Hacienda of Quezada was equally divided among the colonos, or workers of the Hacienda. Four families comprising fifty-three percent of the population of El Jocote were selected for further study.

Beginning June 1, 1963, studies of the descendants of four of the colonos who participated in the land division were conducted as follows:

1. A genealogy of each family, noting the education, literacy, inheritance, and land ownership of each member during the period 1900 to 1963. (Total N = approximately seven hundred eighty, of whom half lived in the community.)
2. Autobiographical statements and family histories from second generation members of these families were taped (N = 7).
3. Picture tests (hereafter referred to as the Literacy Interest Test, LIT) used as interview techniques among a sample of the families to elicit attitudes towards authority, change, education, literacy, government, sanitation, and health. These devices were also expected to reveal self-other orientations. The test was developed specifically for use in a Ladino peasant community. Twenty-two picture cards depicting a variety of situations ranging from health care, educational settings, family groupings, etc., were developed with the artist using photographs of the community taken in 1962 to make the pictures meaningful. All responses were taped (N = 37).
4. The Caligor Eight Card Redrawing Test (8CRT) a non-verbal projective device used to reveal self-concepts of literates and non-literates and personality factors which may relate to acceptance or rejection of literacy (N = 45).

5. Administration of ladder rating interview designed to reveal dimensions of time, authority and self-other orientations among literates and non-literates. This interview schedule was developed by Cantril and adapted by Programa Interamericano de Informacion Popular for use in five Guatemalan communities. The interview was used at the invitation of Dr. F. B. Waisanen, Director of Research of P.I.I.P. (N = 31).
6. Field notes: a daily written record of activities, observations and conversations with informants not taped and observations made during taped interviews.
7. Photographs of role activities and locations pertinent to the investigation.

Family histories of education and land ownership were compiled between June 1 and July 1, 1963, with the investigators visiting homes of the four families, enlisting their interest and taping anecdotes of remembered family history. The Literacy Interest Test, Caligor 8CRT, and ladder rating interview were administered between July 3, 1963 and July 27, 1963.

The history of the division of the Hacienda of Quezada was obtained from official documents in local and national archives and from interviews with local officials in Quezada and second generation residents of El Jocote.

All interviews and verbal tests were recorded on tape and later transcribed and translated by native speakers of Spanish. Observations, historical data, school attendance records, and statements by non-resident informants were recorded in field notes.

Between July 1, 1964 and October 1, 1964 during the course of an evaluation of an adult literacy program in the Department of Jutiapa for AID Guatemala, El Jocote was re-visited six times. During these visits, gaps in existing data were filled and the accuracy of demographic data and statements of subjects in 1962 and 1963 about land ownership and productivity were checked for consistency.

Population and Sample

Site selection. Of eighteen communities visited in Jutiapa in August, 1961 and June, 1962, El Jocote was selected because it best satisfied the following requirements:

1. The illiteracy rate was estimated to approximate that of the entire population of the Department of Jutiapa (76.8%) and of rural communities of less than 2500 inhabitants which, according to the 1950 Guatemala Census, accounted for seventy-seven percent of the nation's population. These communities had an illiteracy rate of eighty-two percent.
2. It was typical of Guatemalan Ladino peasant communities with a subsistence economy and annual family income of about one hundred dollars.
3. For a depth study it was of a size estimated to be within the limits of a man and wife team. Two literate cooperative informants were available, one man and the female director of the public school in Quezada.
4. A literacy program had been started in 1962, and the investigators could function as helpers in the classroom.
5. Like most Latin American peasant communities, El Jocote was isolated from well-traveled roads, but was periodically accessible by motor vehicles with high road clearance. (In 1963 a bridge over the Tempisque River made the community more accessible.)

Sampling Procedures. In 1962, following the mapping of the community and the consecutive numbering of each house, the head of every third household and his wife were administered an interview. Where a third house selection involved a brother or son who jointly worked land with another interviewee, the second or fourth household was selected to avoid duplication of data. The mapping of the community, the first ever undertaken, required approximately three weeks and enlisted the interest and cooperation of every household.

In 1963, on the basis of information gathered the previous year, it was possible to identify the living descendants of those who had participated in the division of the Hacienda between 1895 and 1900. In El Jocote, the "founders" are represented by twenty-five family members. Four of these, Cardona, Muñoz, Retana and Soto accounted for seventeen households in which interviews were conducted in 1962. These four families accounted for over half of the households in the community, fifty-three percent of the community population of 747 and represented the range of literacy, income and land ownership indicated by the 1962 interviews.

A four generation genealogy and history of land ownership and education was compiled for each family. Among the Cardona and Retana families, the households of all young males who enrolled in the night literacy class provided the primary population from which samples for interviewing and testing in 1963 were drawn. Other samples were selected on the basis of the investigator's knowledge of the community to provide a representative sample for each family.

Fourteen of the twenty-seven Cardona households, eleven of the fifteen Muñoz households, eight of the fifteen Retana and both Soto households are represented in the study. Forty-seven persons of both sexes over twelve years of age were included as individual subjects. Of these, thirty-six represented prior selection by the investigator and the balance were interviewed because of ready availability.

Investigators and Informants

Field headquarters in 1963 were established at the home of Gregorio Soto, the volunteer teacher of a night literacy class and the president of the community lands of the Municipio of Quezada. Since there were no rooms or houses in the community that could be rented without dispossessing a family, the investigators slept in a specially equipped vehicle parked under the corredor of the Soto home where they also prepared their meals. Gregorio Soto was paid an agreed upon sum monthly for the use of his property and for his services as assistant and informant.

The investigators assisted Soto six nights a week with a literacy class and here introduced the tape recorder to the community. Conversations and songs of the students were played back to their families during subsequent visits. All standard interviews in 1962 were jointly conducted by the investigators and Gregorio Soto in the homes of the interviewees. Field work was conducted during the important season of cultivating and harvesting and a standard payment of 20¢, equivalent to a half day's wage, was made for each two hour interview. During the course of the work Soto suggested several changes in the households selected for interviews and it became apparent that he was not on friendly terms with certain families and was unwilling to accompany the investigators to their homes. Dora Chīu, the director of the girls section of the public elementary school in Quezada had volunteered her services and all remaining scheduled interviews were completed with her assistance. After leaving El Jocote in 1962 photographs of their families were sent to each household interviewed.

In 1963 the investigators again took up residence with Gregorio Soto but were able also to rent a vacant house in the center of the aldea owned by Antonio Flores, the son-in-law of Soto and a member of one of the families Soto did not wish to visit the previous year. All subsequent interviews were conducted at the house rented from Antonio Flores, but the investigators continued in 1963 to assist Soto with the night literacy classes. The Flores house afforded complete privacy for interviewing and testing in 1963. All interviews were scheduled in advance. With the husband and wife team, two interview stations were set up, the wife generally handling female and the husband the male subjects in the literacy interest test. Both investigators administered the Caligor 8CRT and the ladder rating interview. Unmarried females in El Jocote showed some reluctance to the private interview situation with a male investigator. These interviews were accordingly conducted by the husband and wife jointly or by the wife alone.

In 1963, all informants were paid 35¢ for each interview. Several methods and opportunities were available to check the accuracy of information and the biases of both informants and investigators. Data recorded in 1962 was rechecked in 1963. Interviews administered by Soto in 1962 and recorded in writing by him in Spanish were also taped and recorded in note books. All responses to the LIT test were recorded on tape. Information about a family given by one of its members was checked against similar information given by other members of the family. All historical accounts of the community were checked during interviews with seven men who retained memories of the period since 1900 or who were able to recount stories of their parents.

PROBLEMS OF SELECTION AND FIELD TESTING OF INSTRUMENTS AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Standard Research Methods (Interviews and Informants)

Data about economics, land ownership, social structure, education, health, nutrition and family background were collected with the interest and cooperation of the entire community. The mapping of the roads and houses in El Jocote in 1962 invited estimates and discussion of numbers of households and distances between homes. Most of the estimates were wrong, and household heads resolved differences by pacing off distances according to the instructions of the investigator. Agricultural practices, the sowing, cultivation and harvesting of corn and beans were topics of interest to the entire community and most easily discussed. Family history dating to the division of the Hacienda of Quezada in 1895 was a matter of pride to every member of the community.

While information was freely given, its accuracy was often in doubt. With few exceptions several variations in the age of an individual were reported by his mother, father, siblings and himself. The differences, if called to their attention, were not thought important although at the insistance of the investigator a consensus was arrived at. Parents often calculated the ages of their children by estimating the age of either the eldest or youngest and working down or up at two year intervals. In many communities of the Department of Jutiapa, while the boundaries of property are important and known, a description of property in term of cuerdas and manzanas is not known. In El Jocote and other communities of the Municipio of Quezada, where land ownership dates to a period of lotification and the size of lots was established in terms of manzanas, there is ready acceptance of land description in terms of cuerdas and manzanas. However, land ownership is concentrated in the hands of the oldest living members of the community's twenty-nine families and several households are often dependent upon land owned by one individual. There was often disagreement among households about the amount of land owned by a father or grandfather. Factions, arguments and jealousies between families in the community provided the greatest obstacle to the gathering of descriptive data. Some households expressed disappointment that they were not included in the 1962 interviews and attributed this to Gregorio Soto, the chief informant and assistant of the investigators. Soto, in fact refused in 1962 to accompany the investigators to the homes of the Munoz family which included households of Flores, Hernandez and Yanes and these interviews were conducted the the assistance of Dora Chiu. As noted earlier, interview headquarters in 1963 were set up in a house rented from Antonio Flores, a member of the Munoz family but also the son-in-law of Gregorio Soto.

In 1963, Soto continued to serve as an informant but did not participate in the administration of interviews or tests. The investigators went unaccompanied to homes throughout the community to collect data on family histories of education and land ownership.

The distribution of subjects into four discrete family groups was complicated by intermarriage between families and by illegitimate children and their families. Where females of one family married males of another family, the household was included in the family of the father. Illegitimate, unrecognized children were included in the mother's family. Two exceptions must be noted. The family of a daughter of Cristobal Munoz is included in the Munoz family since the husband has no living parents or siblings, works outside the community for the greater part of the year, and his wife and children live on land provided by her father and identify themselves with the Munoz family. The family of Pedro Serrano, the illegitimate son of Leonardo Munoz, is also counted among the Munoz family. While Pedro Serrano is not recognized by his father and expects to receive no inheritance from his father, he has striven to emulate his father and his children recognize Leonardo Munoz as their grandfather.

Pride in family literacy also produced problems of sampling and data collection. The Munoz family, proud of their literacy, readily produced literates for interviews, but difficulty was experienced arranging interviews with illiterate members of the family or collecting data on illiterate members of the family. Similarly, Gregorio Soto failed to include in the Soto family several illiterate nephews, nieces and their children. These problems were not encountered with the Cardona or Retana families.

The description of the community and data on role activities, social structure, agricultural practices and economics, health, nutrition, education, and family histories have been checked for consistency over a period of three years and are thought to be accurate.

Collation and Analysis of Data Collected by Standard Methods

Three copies of field notes and transcribed interviews were made. The data were broken down into 72 categories and transferred to five by eight cards which were cross-indexed. Each card identifies the category, the respondent or source of information and his family membership, the method and year of data collection. Over six thousand entries are contained in the index. These comprise the sources for description of the community, the homes, social structure, status and roles, economics, education, health practices and illness. While the method of collating the data proved useful, two observations are in order: (1) fewer categories or a regrouping of the categories would have facilitated both collation and analysis,(2) the amount of data warrants more time than has been available for analysis. Following are the categories employed:

1. Acceptance
2. Aggression
3. Agriculture
4. Authority
5. Aspiration
6. Bridge
7. Change
8. Children
9. Clothing
10. Compromise
11. Communication
12. Cooperation
13. Courtship & Marriage
14. Crafts
15. Crime
16. Custom
17. Death
18. Debts
19. Discipline
20. Economics
21. Education
22. Employment (work)
23. Exploitation
24. Family
25. Fear
26. Food
27. Games & Festivals
28. Genealogy
29. Gestures
30. Government
31. Hacienda
32. Happiness
33. Health
34. Houses
35. Hospitality
36. Humor
37. Illegitimacy
38. Individualism
39. Informants
40. Investigators
41. Land-Earth
42. Leadership
43. Life History
44. Literacy
45. Men (Status-Roles)
46. Value Judgments
47. Nutrition
48. Myth
49. Organizations
50. Politics
51. Pride
52. Privacy
53. Religion
54. Respect
55. Rewards
56. Rumor
57. Self
58. Sex
59. Shame
60. Skills
61. Status-Prestige
62. Superstition
63. Symbols
64. Time
65. Trade
66. Travel
67. Water
68. Women (Status-Roles)
69. Parents
70. Law-Inheritance
71. Factions
72. Language

Genealogies and a record of education and land ownership among the four families since 1895 and comprising 780 individuals were recorded on 12" x 18" sheets in a bound register. During each of the visits to El Jocote the information was found subject to revision. Since many of the records of births and deaths in the civil registry of Quezada were destroyed by fire in the early fifties,it was not possible to verify information obtained.

Problem of Defining Literacy

Local criteria for literacy and the unconscious attrition of literacy skills make unreliable most statements and judgments of the campesino about literacy. The problem was further complicated by pride and status in the community. Some individuals who had been to school for a number of years but had not read anything since leaving school considered themselves literate and were thought to be literate by members of the community.

In 1962, no field tested instrument appropriate for determining literacy in a Guatemalan peasant community was available. Moreover, definitions of literacy are ambiguous. An operational definition of functional literacy supplied by UNESCO designates it as "that level of ability to read and write which is normally expected of literate people in the area or culture involved." When this requirement was translated into school achievement in the United States, it was found that the minimum level needed is that normally attained by completing the fourth grade (Grey, 1955).

Literacy is further defined as "functional" when literacy skills provide an avenue for attainable personal, social and economic improvement. Functional literacy as noted by UNESCO differs from one culture to another. In the society under investigation, a person was considered functionally literate if he could comprehend written materials which deal with his problems of daily living; i.e., those of health, nutrition, and personal-social economics at the level of the peasant society.

From the experience of the investigation in El Jocote, a literacy test was developed for use in 1964 in an evaluation of a pilot literacy program in the Department of Jutiapa. Its effectiveness validated the experimental measures employed to determine literacy in El Jocote in 1962 and 1963. The passages used as literacy tests in El Jocote and the literacy tests developed for use in 1964 were both based upon the Juan Series, a carefully structured and field tested set of six books created for literacy instruction among adult members of a Guatemalan peasant society. Controlled vocabulary and content are designed to enable the peasant to deal with problems of daily living: to become "functionally" literate. An evaluation of the Juan Series and the construction of the literacy test developed in 1964 is contained in the report, An Evaluation of Plan Jutiapa, a Pilot Literacy Program, submitted to AID Guatemala in February, 1965.

In El Jocote, validation of the claim of literacy was accomplished in several stages over a period of two years. During 1962 interviews household heads readily identified members of their family who had attended school and who were thought to be literate. During field trips in 1962 and 1963, the few members of the second and third generation for whom literacy was claimed were presented in an informal manner with a page from one of the six Juan books. If the subject could read an easy selection, he was presented with more difficult passages from Book Six. The appearance of a formal test with its onus of possible failure was avoided. No assessment of writing ability was made. For members of the fourth and fifth generation, the younger members of the household, recent successful completion of at least two years of public schooling was accepted as evidence of "functional" literacy. This was based upon the judgment of the directors of the boy's and girl's public school in Quezada as well as that of the Technical Supervisor of Education for the Department of Jutiapa. The criteria was validated by the administration of literacy tests in 1964 to individuals who had completed the second grade. It should be noted that in El Jocote and in four other communities of Jutiapa later studied by the investigators over one half of those who go to school do not advance beyond the first grade. The functional skills acquired in the second grade enabled students to read Book Six of Juan and supplementary reading materials with facility. Second grade students in Quezado in 1963 averaged 11.16 years of age.

In 1962 a literacy census of all households not interviewed was conducted with the assistance of Gregorio Soto. The accuracy of the census was later determined by consulting the school records in El Jocote for members of the fourth and fifth generation and observation and testing of the few members of the third generation for whom literacy was claimed. Three members of the third generation were not tested but were counted as literates on the testimony of Gregorio Soto.

In 1963, during the administration of the LIT and other tests, the literacy status of all subjects was confirmed by their ability to read the following three phrases:

1. En el pueblo compró cosas para su casa.
2. En el Instituto Agropecuario Nacional hay una oficina especial que ayuda a los campesinos.
3. El hombre movió su mano rapidamente en ademán de respeto.

Those who were able to read these phrases with comprehension and with no more than three errors in word identification were counted as literate. The most frequent difficulty was with the word ademán (gesture) in sentence three.

In compiling the history of education among the four families, the statements of living members of the second generation about the literacy status of their parents were convincing and accepted. Claims of literacy were made for only two members of the first generation, Ceferino Munoz and Bonifacio Soto. Munoz held the post of military commander in Quezada and Soto was first mayor of Quezada and later commissioned a captain in the army. Those few in the second generation who claimed literacy were quickly identified and their literacy status determined (1) by their ability to read passages from the Juan Series, and (2) their ability to read the three phrases listed on the previous page.

These same methods were employed to assess the literacy of members of the four families living in the town of Quezada. However, the literacy status of members of the families living outside the municipality was recorded as reported. All of those reported as literate and living in urban areas were said to hold jobs for which literacy would be a requirement.

Experimental Methods (Instruments)

The difficulties involved in adapting psychological tests for cross cultural use have been clearly documented by Lindzey (1961) and by Kaplan (1961). Language difficulties, lack of validation information, interpretation based on the language of pathology are among a few of the meaningful criticisms that have been made. Much of the criticism seems to be directed toward the relevance of cross cultural information from such untested instruments as the basis for making personality inferences. Our first problem then in this present report is to specify the nature of the information gathered and its relevance to other field data collected.

Based on 1962 field research in El Jocote, the investigators felt that standard interview schedules possessed certain inherent limitations with the population being studied and began to seek more effective ways of eliciting information. Standard interviews elicited little fantasy and questions were dealt with in a concrete sterile manner which left much to be desired in terms of getting at actual attitudes. The subject in the peasant community is not used to talking about himself and his attitudes. This was particularly well illustrated by the pattern of social visiting observed in this village where one individual would visit with another, and this consisted of sitting quietly with hands folded for thirty minutes to an hour, perhaps exchanging one or two words and then quietly and politely leaving. The

Guatemalan peasant is rooted in an authoritarian culture and tends to respond directly to an interviewer with a response he feels is most appropriate for the interviewer's needs, adding another dimension of difficulty to the standard interviewing procedure. For such reasons the researchers have atempted to develop materials that will allow or stimulate the subject to talk about himself, his attitudes, and his feelings.

The exploration of testing materials has covered three major areas. The first of these was the selection of materials for evaluation in this particular culture. The second step consisted of the actual field trials to gather information about the effectiveness of the materials for eliciting information, subject reactions, and the economy of time involved in the use of the various instruments. The third step involved experimentation with modes of analysis of these materials in both quantitative and qualitative manner.

The first test developed was an adaptation of TAT- like cards to be used to elicit further information about attitudes towards a variety of areas such as family, school, siblings, the future, etc. The cards are done in black and white, and are based on slides made in Guatemala depicting actual family, school, etc., scenes, with backgrounds and dress appropriate to the area. The 22-card test was field tested for effectiveness, duplication of theme and then revised and has been subsequently used as a 9-card literacy interest test (LIT). The present battery consists of one card with a family grouping, another card with a group of males around a conference table, one showing a bus on a highway, one showing a person looking off into the future, a classroom situation, an agricultural scene, a mother and child scene, and two cards to be used depending on whether the subject is male or female showing two subjects, one going to work and one going to school.

See appendix for copies of cards and questions used to elicit further information. The cards are now administered first with a free association period and then followed by standardized questions.

The LIT test has proven to be the most effective test on several counts. It is not threatening to the subjects, can be administered effectively and taped within one hour, and the present selection of cards seems to stimulate a considerable amount of information not ordinarily gained in the interview. The test deals with familiar situations and permits the most concrete minded illiterate to identify familiar objects.

While the cards were generally effective, two kinds of problems can be described to point up special areas. The first of these is the difficulty in dealing with the concept of the future.

Examples:

Question: "What will the future be for this man?"

Answer: "I wouldn't know what to say ...how he is going to live - because, since that is yet to happen, one doesn't know whether one would see it or not because the only thing sure about one's existence is death."

Other answers to the same question:

"God only knows."

"I don't understand."

"There I couldn't....I can't tell you anything, in that, contrary to what....since I am...since I've been telling you....one can't even talk right."

"Well you see, that is really ...because one doesn't know how to read and is very rustic one doesn't know... at least not as it would be if one knew..."

"He is wondering what God has in store for him."

The second illustrates the way in which perception is structured by experience.

For example: picture of boy going to work and other to school;
sun about third of way in sky.

Question: "What time of day is it?"

Answer: "About six in the morning."

Question: "Why six in the morning?"

Answer: "Because it is before the sunrise."

(Note: Subject always starts to work before sunrise.)

For example: picture of woman entering house with water jug in arms.

Question: "Tell me about the picture."

Answer: (in part) "The lady walks with a cantaro on her head..."

(Note: water jugs are usually carried on the head.)

Many remark about the sadness of people in drawings; leads to view that they are sick.

A rating scale for some of the kinds of information sought has been developed and evaluated, based on the original El Jocote sample of 37 subjects. The rating of subjects' responses was developed on a 5-point continuum. Clinical psychologists were utilized as judges and all subjects were rated on sixteen dimensions. Results were tabluated for levels of significance difference between literates and illiterates as found for each dimension. Inter-judge correlations on the separate items were found to range from .311 to .610. The lack of reliability on several of the scales is still being investigated and indicates faulty scales, as well as some difficulties with the original sample using all twenty-two cards.

The experimental population available initially for field testing of these instruments is quite heterogenous in relation to literacy, sex and age. Therefore, the sample size does not permit adequate comparison across these variable and yields findings of a quite exploratory nature. Table 1 provides a description of the sample and Table 2 points to the findings for the El Jocote sample tested.

Table 1

ANALYSIS OF TAT DATA, EL JOCOTE, 1964

	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Literates	10	5	15
Illiterates	10	4	14
Semi-Literates	8	0	8
Total	28	9	37

Table 2

COMPARISON OF LITERATES AND ILLITERATES ON T.A.T.

ITEMS & DESCRIPTION	.05 SIGNIFICANCE	INTERPRETATION
1. Level of Adjustment	No	Not significant
2. Subjective importance of literacy	Yes .025	Lit. > ill.
3. Importance of school over work for children	Yes .01	Lit. > ill.
4. Importance of school over work for adults	Yes	Lit. > ill
5. Understanding health and illness	No	Lit. > ill.
6. Effects of literacy in everyday life	No	Lit. > ill
7. Pref. of young over old going to school	No	Lit. > ill
8. Importance of father vs. mother as decision maker	No	Appears to be not signif. diff. at any level
9. Influence between true & proclaimed value of literacy	No	Appears to be not signif. at any level
10. Moral values	No	Appears to be not signif. diff. at any level
11. Attitudes toward government as authority	No	Appears to be not signif. diff. at any level
12. Levels of life's aspirations	No	Not significant
13. A Orientation toward self	Yes	Lit. > ill.
B Orientation toward family	No	Lit. ill.
C Interest oriented in El Jocote	No	Lit. > ill.
D Interest oriented outside El Jocote	No	Lit. > ill.

Further amplification of the test items can be gained by reference to Appendix A of this report. The effectiveness of the cards in eliciting information and the clarification of some of the difficulties in evaluation led to further data being collected in Guatemala in the summer of 1964. A large sample was administered the revised LIT test, utilizing a free association period and then specific questions to follow, and is presently being analyzed. Two groups equated for age and sex and general socio-economic background have been selected for comparative analysis. The two groups differ largely in that one is a literate group and the other illiterate determined by administration of a literacy test. These findings will be forwarded as a supplement to the present report as soon as this analysis is complete.

The second instrument selected for exploration was the Caligor 8-card Redrawing Test. The task for the subject is basically to make eight drawings of a person in sequence, and the test is evaluated on the basis of the characteristics of the drawing and changes that take place in the drawings over the sequence. A quantitative scoring method has been developed by Caligor and the instrument was recommended by Dr. Margaret Mead for consideration for cross cultural exploration. Test was administered to a sample of 31 males and 14 females.

Several factors were immediately obvious in the field situation, some predictable, some not so clearly seen. The first of these is that the illiterate peasant does have, as expected, considerable difficulty with the drawing task; a pencil is an unfamiliar tool. It became in many cases a stress test and provided interesting insights into reactions to frustration but was a considerable threat to the rapport between the interviewer and the subject. Related to this was the observation that some subjects took up to three hours to complete the test and this becomes a test of patience on both the interviewer and the interviewee's parts.

Interjudge correlations of rating drawings No. 1 and No. 8 of the thirty males into five hierachial groups, according to estimated levels of integration and intellectual functioning, using product moment correlation was .89. Clinical psychologists were used as judges. This high reliability indicates that we can obtain satisfactory stability of scores but the same could possibly be obtained from drawing tests of one human figure.

Relationships between (1) age, (2) literacy scores and (3) a composite of selected Caligor items were analyzed. The quantified items were those most representative of level of personal adjustment. The relationship between these three variables was arrived at using the Pearson product moment correlation, and collectively using partial correlations, holding age constant. The results of these correlations are shown in Table 3, and it can be seen that the relationship between literacy scores and levels of adjustment is .53. This is significant at the .01 level.

Table 3

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN (1) AGE,
(2) LITERACY, (3) CALIGOR RATINGS

Correlation	N	Value	Level of Sig.
r_{13} Age/Caligor ratings	30	.41	.05
r_{12} Age/Literacy scores	30	.40	.05
r_{23} Lit. Scale/Cal. ratings	30	.61	.01
$r_{23.1}$ Age partialed out	30	.53	.01

The product moment correlation between the judges' ratings of the Caligor Drawings 1 and 8 and the quantified Caligor ratings is .733, significant at the .01 level for an N of 30 males. Again, it suggested that essentially the same kinds of judgments could be obtained from simple drawings.

Some specific administration problems recorded in field notes were as follows:

1. "Twelve of twenty-two illiterate subjects after being given instructions stated, I can't do it."
2. "Two illiterate adults were unable to complete the series. Andres _______ was so upset and shaking that he was stopped after two drawings."
3. "Juan ______ moved his chair around house out of my sight where daughter of a neighbor helped him. Not embarrassed, said he couldn't do it."
4. "Juan _______'s two sons, Abraham and Juan Angel (19 and 17) had agreed to take Caligor, but refused when they saw father's problems."
5. "Two literate adults did not finish because of darkness."
6. "No literates objected to doing drawings. However, one woman expressed embarrassment. Literates expressed more enjoyment over task, spent more time on details, smiled over work, explained drawings to investigators."

An additional difficulty with the Caligor is that at the time of the initation of this test to the battery it was assumed that some developmental norms were forthcoming based on American subjects. This would have provided some baseline for the beginning of interpretation;

however no such data became available. It is the feeling of the researchers that while this instrument does seem to bear some relationship to some of the questions of literacy and attitudes that we are concerned with, it creates special problems of validation and reliability that need to be covered first before further use in a field investigation of this nature. Further analysis of the Caligor 8 CRT protocols is contemplated.

The third test used experimentally was the ladder rating interview. Other selected portions of the PIIP interview were utilized but were not analyzed. The test was administered to a sample of 22 subjects and the illustrative findings are shown on Chart I. Table 4 lists those items on which the literate and illiterate scores were most significantly different.

Table 4

LADDER RATING (PIIP) ITEMS ON WHICH LITERATES
AND ILLITERATES DIFFERED MOST SIGNIFICANTLY
(MATCHED SAMPLES
$N_1 = N_2 - 8$)

Item	Description	P
4	Influence of subject over people with whom he works, over his neighbors, friends and other people	.025
5	Popularity of subject: degree to which a person likes and is liked by his neighbors and working companions	.019
6	Need for change and a life full of emotions in spite of difficulties rather than security without change	.065
8	Opportunity and occasion for need satisfaction and doing things he wishes to do	.08
14b	Relative importance of change to the subject	.08
14f	Relative importance of knowing how to read and write	.01

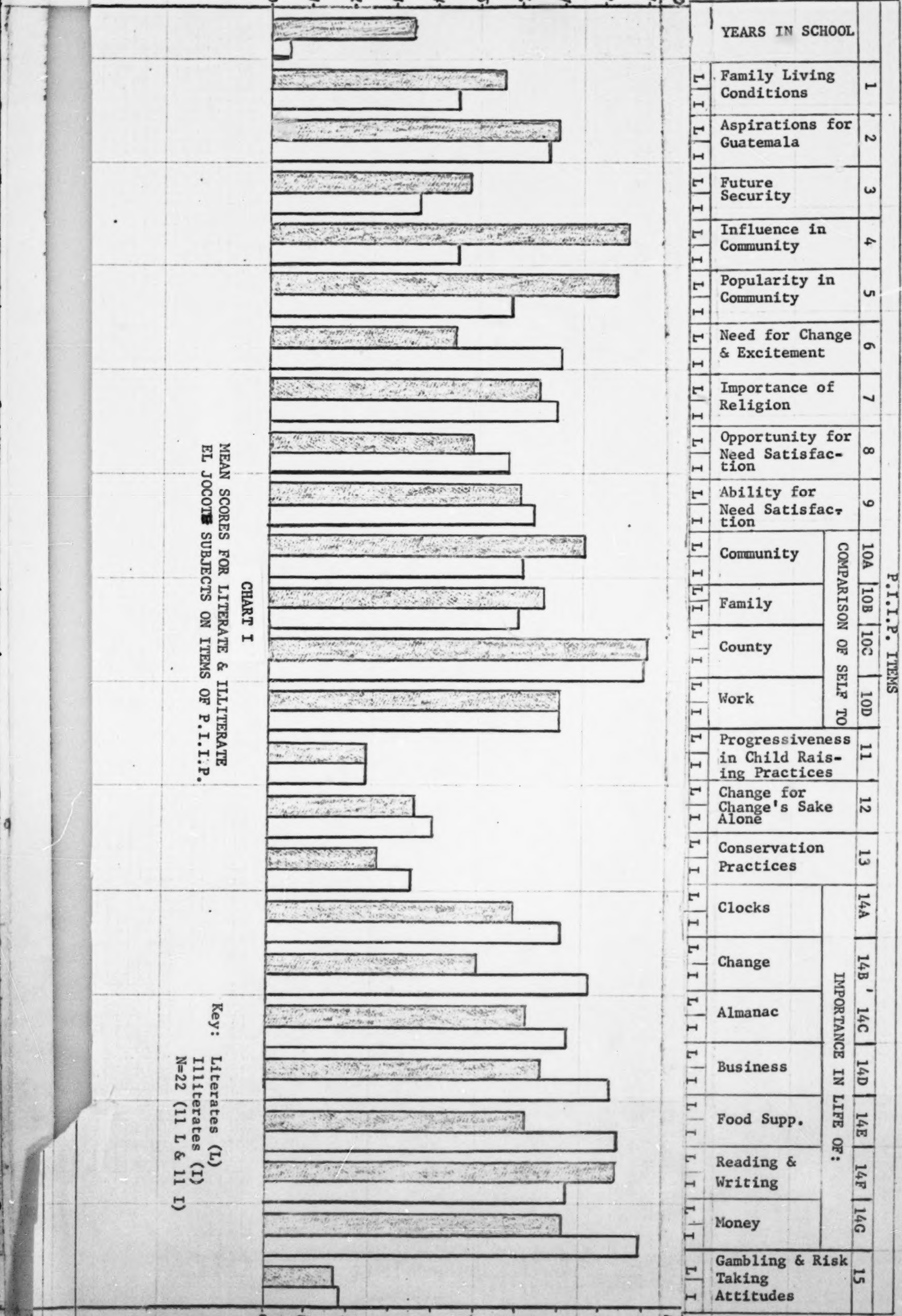

CHART I
MEAN SCORES FOR LITERATE & ILLITERATE
EL JOCOTE SUBJECTS ON ITEMS OF P.I.I.P.

While the test taps highly relevant areas for a study such as this, it was found again that there is great difficulty in getting the concrete-minded illiterate to react to the notion of placement on a 10-point scale presented in ladder-like arrangement. The basic nature of the test, however, seems to have some merit and if possible a revised simplified edition may be used in later data collection. In lieu of a 10-run ladder, a five category arrangement is considered to be more valid for a peasant community. Along the same vein, soliciting ladder positions for five years past and five years into the future, as well as for the present as done in the original P.I.I.P. is considered impractical in the peasant community. Accordingly, the subjects will be requested only to state their ladder position for the "present."

Specific examples of reactions to the ladder rating interview (PIIP) taken from field notes are as follows:

1. "Three literates (Gregorio Soto, Esperanza Soto de Flores and Carlos Munoz) administered PIIP to themselves, answered all questions."

2. "After taking PIIP Esteban _____ refused to come back to take LIT or 8CRT, despite fact payment was due upon completion. Also refused to allow his son and daughter to come for test."

3. "Esteban ______ typical of several who required prodding; asks to have each question repeated several times; asks 'Is it this one?' Obvious that he will settle for any answer I accept."

4. "Tomas _______ picks at random. Does not understand concept. First question must be asked several times. Test discontinued."

5. "To question #2 (hopes and fears for Guatemala) Leonardo takes off for one half hour on views of government, then places all answers at #10. Obvious that he does not wish to be accused of being critical of any government or authority. This rating contradicts an earlier conversation during account of family history."

6. "Horacio ______ says he does not understand the question (#10) about changing manner of being. Left for lunch after PIIP, would not return for other interview."

7. Answers to question #1 (living in best and worst possible conditions of life) contradict views of life expressed in other interviews—particularly among illiterates (Horacio _____, Tomas _____, Carlos _____ place themselves high on scale - also Melida _____, Adelberto _____, Leonidas ______, Florenzio ______).
   Literate answers more consistent, yet with small sample comparisons thrown off by such answers as those of Leonardo _____, one of wealthiest men in town, who gives low ratings because he has lost a leg."

8. "Of seventeen subjects administered question #11 (rank ordering importance of watches, almanacs, etc.) 11 ranked Incaparina, although only one knew what it was. Question was not asked of 8 subjects, because in judgment of investigator the answers would reflect guesses."

9. "Part II of the PIIP was discontinued early. Only a few of the literates understood the question (Sotos, Juan Munoz). The question "Who am I?" created tension and frustration ... seemed a foolish question for me to ask. I dropped it because I felt it would jeopardize relations with subjects and future testing. The response of Carmelo Cardona, a very cooperative subject, is typical. After reading the question three times and explaining it to him, he said, 'I have no answer to this question. I do not understand.'"

10. "Gregoria ________, an illiterate who did Caligor in 24 minutes, picked answers to PIIP by immediately pointing to a rung on the ladder without apparent thought or hesitation. Test discontinued."

11. "Literates more thoughtful, took more time. Literates stated they were unable to answer questions about future; illiterates either answered or said, 'Only God knows.'"

There is evidence that administration of the Literacy Interest Test, Caligor 8CRT and ladder rating interview (PIIP) to the same subjects during one prolonged interview session affected responses to the second or third test given each subject. While the LIT was usually administered first, followed by the ladder rating interview and the Caligor 8CRT, this order was occasionally changed. Subjects who appeared for interviews while tests with other subjects were in progress were not permitted to observe the tests in progress nor could they be dismissed. Either of these procedures might have affected attitudes and responses. The new subject was generally seated on a bench or log some distance from and out of sight of the interview location, given a clip board and started on the 8CRT under supervision of the investigator's wife.

From the three instruments being tested, one has shown considerable promise for further exploration, the LIT test, and has subsequently been used. The other two tests, because of special difficulties in administration and evaluation, at this point do not seem at least in their present form to lend themselves to large sampling procedures in the field. The LIT test seems to be the most effective adjunctive instrument to be utilized along with interview techniques and field observations for studies dealing with differences between the literate and non-literate in the peasant society.

General Reactions

While 1962 interviews were conducted in homes of subjects and dealt with familiar subjects, the 1963 tests were administered in Antonio Flores' house and required subjects coming to the house. The 1963 procedure was followed to insure privacy. In the few tests given at Soto's home, subjects were extremely conscious of visitors, and often stopped the SCRT in embarrassment and the dynamic of the LIT test toward self identification was disrupted.

However, holding interviews in Flores house by appointment left the final decision to be interviewed up to the subjects. While with two exceptions in 1962 families were at home waiting for an interview arranged in advance, in 1963 the greater part of the investigator's time was spent waiting.

The investigators were unable to determine whether failure to meet appointments (never acknowledged — always a reason) was due to lack of sense of appointed time, the priority of work in the fields (although interviews were not begun until after planting had been completed) or tension and fear of compromise. The length of the tests and their strangeness is thought to have contributed to the problem.

Examples:

Problem of getting illiterates (from field notes)

1. "After Juan _____ took tests, his illiterate brothers who had promised to come refused for various reasons."
2. "The literate sons of Juan_______ came, but the illiterates did not come (with exception of Horacio_______ who took one test and would not return although he lived next door to house where we worked.)"
3. "The illiterate sons and daughters of Francisco_____ would not come although they agreed to appointments arranged by the Munoz family."

Problem of anxiety about purpose of study

1. "Six dates were set up (all with apparent agreement) with Pedro _____ who lived directly across from house where we worked. He never came to be tested but in informal interviews stated, 'Education and literacy are mixed up in politics. I don't want to get mixed up in politics.' At another point he stated, 'Since we are campesinos without education, it disturbs me greatly not to know what you are doing or referring to.' (Dates with______ were made over a period of two weeks.)"
2. "Later______ is reported to have said he thought we were 'informers gathering information for political reasons.'"

3. "Juan ______ expressed fears of political reprisal resulting from interviews. It took fifteen minutes to reassure him before he would do Caligor. Then refused to take other tests."

4. "Esperanza ______ reports after interview with Asisclo and Marta ______ that they were frightened of interview ...afraid they might have endangered themselves."

5. "Carmen ____ (Gregorio's wife) stated, 'Most people here are afraid of compromising themselves. They want to stay away from trouble. Anything new or different causes fear.'"

6. "After two weeks of setting up appointments with Florenzio________ (twice I walked to the fields to find him, once I arrived at interview location at 6:00 A.M. to accommodate him) Florenzio arrived unannounced and without appointment. He was obviously nervous, and although he cannot read, looked through my notebooks and interview schedules."

7. "Alejandro ______ did not come, although dates had been arranged by three different persons. Later told by his children their father would not allow them to come."

8. "Nine of those interviewed (only one illiterate) appeared without invitation. Seemed to enjoy interviews and happy to get the payment of 35¢."

9. "Three younger girls would come to Antonio's house only if assured that Jeanne would be present."

10. "Soto says that I am only having same problems everyone has, that of lack of cooperation. 'Here you need a strong hand and machete to get people to do things. It takes force to get things done.'"

11. "Antonio Garcia, head of the Jutiapa Extension Dept. and Estuardo Sandoval, local representative of the Tabacalera Nacional say they have great difficulty getting cooperation, or making appointments. Garcia came to me to solicit my help, saying he thought I could get more done than he in getting a demonstration of the use of fertilizer."

Pride also entered the picture

1. Unless parents were first consulted, children were often not allowed to come for interviews.

2. Members of the Munoz family claimed ignorance of Soto's experimental garden.

3. Soto claimed ignorance of Osorio's experimental planting of tobacco.

4. "If the idea is not Gregorio____'s, it won't work. Also true of heads of ______ family."

Parental authority (and their fears) affected scheduling interviews with wives and children:

1. "My papa is muy bravo . . . . when I leave for two hours he is after me."
2. "Children must pay attention to him who is their father."
3. "Girls should have no differences with their father."
4. "I answer for all of my family." (a father who would not allow his children to be interviewed)
5. "A son can't do whatever he pleases. Always the father should tell him what to do. He has to obey, because the father is the boss of the house." (from a 17-year-old)
6. (from father of the above boy) "Children must have permission before doing things."

Problem of time

1. "Jose Luis ______ says it is difficult for people in El Jocote to meet appointments. 'They have no judgment .... they have never been asked before to be somewhere at a given time.'"
2. "There are no clocks or watches in El Jocote. Tell time by sun, and this is quite accurate."
3. "Always agreeable to a date. Never an apology for a missed appointment. 'I had to work.' 'The cow got loose.' 'I will come tomorrow, early.'"
4. "I set up shop at night, from 7 P.M. until ten. Helped bring in some people, but not those who were consistently evasive."

Contamination

Only one instance, two sisters ages 15 and 16 took LIT eleven days apart. Answers to several questions identical and suggest rehearsal.

Perception of the investigators

1. "Household head upon completion of interview, 'We are very grateful to you for this visit...so grateful we don't really know how to compensate for such kindness at this particular moment.'"
2. "Despite the fact that we took every care to explain that we were not with the government, and that we were in El Jocote merely to study the way of life, education, health, nutrition and helping with the literacy class, there is an indication that people think we have come to help them. As the study progressed we became more closely identified with the idea of a new school which ______ had started promoting two years before we arrived and which the ______ family had started opposing at the same time."

3. (Soto conducting 1962 interview) "Due to God's will they (the Wrights) have come here and we are doing this investigation whose sole purpose is that of a sociological study of the typical mode of living in our canton. With your and your children's efforts we can struggle out of ignorance and learn to read. You can open a book and learn how to cook, how to plant trees, how to be better farmers...Here with me I have these good people working very disinterestedly, three thousand miles from their homes. They are doing everything out of Christian spirit, and of kindness because they are good people...good Catholic people (sic) who have a very good humanitarian heart."

4. (Basilio ___ — the only person who expressed hope of direct benefit) "We would like through your studies that something would come about that would improve our lands so we could have more production...that is what I would like."

5. "It is evident that between our visits in 1962 and 1963 'S' used us to strengthen his hand in getting a school started. 'M' reported in 1963 that while we were away 'S' had stated that we would get President Kennedy to seize land for a school under the Alliance for Progress."

6. "The 'M' fears were abated in 1963 until the end of July (when all testing had stopped). When Peter Tobia and Chester Colwell, of the Tri-Partite school building program, appeared in El Jocote July 29 to address a meeting on the possibility of building a school for El Jocote, all of the old fears and animosities were stirred up, and we were accused of cooperating with 'S' to get hold of 'M' land."

7. "Before July 29, we exchanged gifts with the Munoz family. Francisco Munoz bought Jeanne and me flavored shaved ice at a festival."

8. "There was a constant inclination to appear in agreement with authority whether ourselves, the mayor, Soto (among Cardonas), Dora Chiu."

The investigators identified themselves as teachers and stated that their interest in the community was to study its history and way of life and to help teach the night literacy class. These purposes were never questioned, although just before the investigators left El Jocote in August, 1962, and after interviews had been completed, some fear was expressed that they were interested in gathering up titles to the land. This stemmed from the investigators' interest in the history of land ownership, Soto's interest in acquiring land for a school in El Jocote (which antedated the arrival of the investigators), and a subsequent rumor that the investigator's wife might be a great granddaughter of the last owner of the Hacienda The rumors and fears were touched off by a meeting held in El Jocote July 29, 1963 to consider a proposal to build a school for which land was required. The proposal was rejected.

Many of the individual reactions to testing here reflect the generalized fear in the community of the unknown, of family rivalries and the threat of change being produced in their community. Two areas warrant further exploration at this point. The first of these is that the investigators have become identified with one family in the village and have taken on some of the long standing problems, as would be expected in relations with other families. While this degree of involvement could be critical in getting a clear feeling of what is going on in the peasant community, it also provides added material for difficulties when tests and other strange devices are introduced which are perceived as threats.

The second observation should be made concerning the gathering of the psychological materials. This was done from the period July 3 through the 27th, 1963, and gave time for considerable feedback into the community as has been shown in some of our examples. This feedback apparently involved distortion of the purpose of the testing, rehearsal so that the subject would appear sophisticated, and sufficient time for the vaguely understood purposes to take on threatening qualities.

In subsequent field investigations, 1964, similar data was collected but collected on a massive push basis so that all interviews were completed within four days after entering the village. This did not allow for the collection of much relative data about the community structure and organization but did not allow for distortion feedback to begin to contaminate some of the psychological instruments. It seems that this will be a necessary part of a program expecting to collect such data in settings similar to El Jocote.

Another area of consideration is that of the difficulty of getting the non-literate subject in the sample. Again, many examples have been presented showing this and it seems to stem from at least two major causes. The first of these is that the illiterate may attempt to avoid a task which he knows involves literacy and therefore would carry some threat for him. The second is literacy is a matter of family status and pride and the families seem to play a protective role and send forth only their best representatives. The actual reactions to the test also show considerable differences between the literate and the illiterate. The literate appears to be able to recognize the nature of the tests and the fact that he is in danger of some self-exposure. He is therefore capable of some self criticism and this probably accounts for the longer time spent by literates on a test and the greater pains and details shown in their productions. Table 5 demonstrates the sample attrition resulting from the difficulties inherent in the Ladino peasant population as discussed above.

TABLE 5

The Sample Size of Literates and Illiterates by Sex Administered the Caligor 8CRT, TAT and PIIP

		Caligor N = 44	TAT N = 37	Ladder Rating (PIIP) N = 22	# Subjects Tested on all 3 tests
Literates	Males	15	10	8	5
	Females	6	5	3	1
Illiterates	Males	15	18	10	8
	Females	8	4	1	0
Totals		44	37	22	14

III. THE SETTING

Seventy-seven percent of Guatemala's population lives in rural communities of less than 2500 persons, eighty-two percent of whom are illiterate.[1] El Jocote is a collection of one hundred and twenty-one adobe, bajareque, and entoldado houses separated by milpa and hedges of thorn and held together by by a network of deeply eroded footpaths. It is one of thirteen aldeas within the township or Municipio of Quezada in the Department of Jutiapa, and like the other aldeas and caserios of Quezada is located in foothills on the perimeter of the valley of Quezada. The valley is approximately nine hundred and eighty meters above sea level and the wooded hills to the west rise another three hundred meters. The Tempisque River which rises high in the hills cuts through El Jocote, joins the Lajas River and flows east into the Rio Paz which rises in the hills to the north.

The average annual rainfall for the area is approximately six hundred millimeters and occurs from June through September. From October until late May there is little or no rain. The ground bakes and cracks, pastures dry, and the cultivation of crops is possible only along the rivers where the banks are not cut away. The hillsides, once completely covered with pine and oak, are studded with milpa and pasture. Erosion begun within the past century is accelerating. Older residents say the rivers have less water than sixty years ago. The valley lands, where not depleted, are planted to tobacco, some sugar and rice, but principally to corn and black beans. During the rainy season the countryside appears green and prosperous. The flora of the villages and the valley is semitropical: a few palms and patches of banana and coffee planted together, occasional citrus and papaya, mango, great spreading ceiba trees, the moro or gourd tree, maguey, thorn and the jocote, a tree whose fruit the early Spanish settlers called the American Cherry.

Until the year 1890, the valley and the surrounding hills comprising eight hundred *caballerías* were known as Quezada's Hacienda. During the nineteenth century the northeastern end of the broad valley was planted to sugar cane irrigated by ditches from the Rio Paz. The larger area of the Hacienda, foothills and marginal lands of the valley to the south and west, is said to have pastured as many as five thousand cattle and three hundred mares. During the height of its activity the Hacienda employed about two hundred *colonos* and their families who were provided house sites and tillage, a plot of ground to raise corn and beans for their own consumption. The *colonos's* wages averaged one and a half *reals* for a day's labor or *tarea* in planting, cultivating, cutting and processing cane, carrying wood or driving livestock; in short, all of the chores of a hacienda. The administrative center of the Hacienda, located in the eastern end of the valley, included an *oratorio* or chapel, a sugar mill powered by water from the Paz, an aqueduct system, reservoir and various buildings of stone and mortor built during the first half of the eighteenth century. The houses of the *colonos* were located along the perimeter of the valley. There was no school and those wishing education for their children sent them to Jutiapa, a distance of approximately twenty kilometers.[2]

The last owners of the Hacienda, the Vidaurres, started to break up the property shortly after the death of José Milla y Vidaurre, the Guatemalan novelist and historian, in 1882. After large blocks of the northern and southern portions of the Hacienda had been sold to private buyers, the Government of Guatemala in November 1886 agreed on behalf of the *colonos* to purchase the balance of the land in order to distribute it among the "neighbors" who were to repay the cost. It is not clear whether the plan to purchase was initiated by the owner, the *colonos* or the Government. However, two *colonos*, Atanacio Soto and Maximo Cardona, are known to have journeyed to the capital on behalf of their neighbors to discuss the proposed land distribution, and their descendants are firm in the belief that the plan was initiated by the colonos. In April 1887 the colonos appealed to the government for protection of the property, they hoped would be theirs, claiming that outsiders were taking possession of the lands. In September 1887, the President of the Republic, Manuel T. Barrillos, placed the land in the custody of don Francisco Andrino "until the Government decides how to distribute Quezada's Hacienda." By 1890, the colonos were able to raise less than $10,000 of the $25,000 price placed on the property. The Government of Guatemala supplied the balance of the purchase price and took possession of the land June 23, 1890. At the same time the government agreed "that at the expense of the public fund an engineer should set the boundaries of the land bought, taking into consideration the adjacent farms, and setting apart the astillero which should be left to the aldea." The Government also sought to guarantee an equitable distribution of the property among the participating colonos and to issue a deed of ownership to each. The Government decreed "That for ten years, beginning with the date in which this certificate is granted, none of the grantees is allowed to transfer the ownership of his lot." Following the survey of the land, President Manuel T. Barilla on January 18, 1892 in the name of the nation delivered to the "neighbors of Quezada's Hacienda" one hundred and forty-two caballerias, forty-six manzanas and eight thousand one hundred and thirty-four square varas in order that they "gain just and legitimate deed to the measured land." Furthermore, the president commanded the political head of the Department of Jutiapa and the rest of the authorities "that under no pretext they should injure or permit anyone to injure or molest the previously mentioned neighbors, nor the grantees of the lots, nor their successors, about the ownership of the land in question." Of the land granted to the neighbors of Quezada's Hacienda approximately one hundred and six *caballerias* located in the mountainous western portion of the Hacienda were assigned as *astillero*, or land set aside for community woodlot and grazing. The buildings of the Hacienda, including the water wheel, sugar mill, and *oratorio* and three *manzanas* of land on which they were located, were also set aside as community property, where all of the co-owners could do their milling. A tract of land was also laid out for a town by engineers. The balance of the land, save roads and rivers, was divided into plots of thirteen *manzanas*, to be distributed among the *colonos* who had paid their shares of the costs. In addition to the thirteen *manzanas*, each *colonos* received a plot of ground for a house in the newly laid out town, which was named Quezada and became the seat, or *cabecera*, of the municipality. Although title to the community lands in the *astillero* was not granted, the use of these lands was guaranteed to the buyers and to their descendents in perpetuity.[3]

No official records exist of the number of names of those who shared in the division of the lands. The investigator was told by three men who were between ten and twenty years old at the time of the division of the Hacienda that there were between one hundred and one hundred and thirty *fundadores*, or founders, those who shared in the division of the land and are considered the founding fathers of modern Quezada. One hundred and thirty individuals representing fifty-two family names have been identified by the investigator.[4] Of these, sixteen were persons from other communities who were allowed to buy up allotments that had not been assigned. Ten who received land were women. The distribution of land took place between 1895 and 1900, outsiders coming in between 1898 and 1900. Sons of two of the *colonos* reported that their fathers paid $5.00 per *manzana* for the land. Leonardo Muñoz in 1963 had a receipt for the final payment made by his father.

By the year 1900, the founders, following the 1895 plan of the engineers, had built a town with cobble stone streets, adobe houses with tile roofs an adobe church with a white plaster facade, a small school, and a set of municipal buildings facing the church across a public square. Construction of the new Quezada was at the expense of Quezada's Hacienda, for to provide building stone and roof tiles, the lovely eighteenth century vaulted Oratorio of the Hacienda was dismantled, and the reservoir, irrigation system and mills either canabalized or sold and abandoned. The walls of the Hacienda buildings and the arched aqueduct were still standing in 1963, stone and masonary gripped in the roots of overgrowth. The son of Quezada's first mayor who authorized the sale of the water wheel and mill states that the mill was sold because the water supply failed and growing cane was discontinued. There are few memories of the Hacienda buildings among men in their eighties, although their recollection of the new Quezada at the turn of the century is vivid. The stories passed on to younger generations are about the "fundadores," not about the days of the patron and his Hacienda.

The heritage of the founders the winning of guaranteed titles to family land that cannot be expropriated, the right of their descendents to the use of the community lands, economic independence and the status conferred by lineage was an active force in El Jocote in 1963. While accounts of the history of the Hacienda before its division are vague and inaccurate, the living sons of the founders gave vivid accounts of their fathers' roles and the granting of titles:

> Quezada's Hacienda was of high society. It was of high society because 5 the first onwer, if I am not misinformed, was called Salvador de Quezada. I am not sure when he sold it to the Guatemalan writer, José Milla y Vidaurre, also of Spanish origin. José Milla came to Quezada's Hacienda to write some of his best books, and I know he liked very much to ride horses and had a very good mule. He used to ride all over and many times he took with him several pieces of paper and pencil to write the paragraphs of the best books he wrote. I think that his wife's name was ...Oh, the other one was his sister I think. She was called Corona Vidaurre...or was it his mother? I believe she was already old

> and he decided to sell the Hacienda and began to sell it part by part, selling the first part on the south side,...selling one part to Don Jorge Leon Escobar. They were creoles from here, from Guatemala.
>
> Then later only one part of the Hacienda was left and don Pepe (Jose Milla y Vidaurre) decided to sell it. Then the colonos, already tired of being servants and they all began to think and they united themselves in a single, in a, in a sort of society. It seems to me this was around 1890...and they began to talk to don Jose and he said it would be alright, because they feared ..well that the Hacienda would be sold to someone else and they would continue as laborers. So they began to gather money...to sell their animals and everything they had to get most of the money necessary. Still they didn't have enough, and they wouldn't have enough. They had to consult the government and the government helped them quite a lot. The president was General Manuel Lisandro Barrillas and he helped them buy the land. And the president ordered then and there that the Hacienda be divided into lots, and he began to organize the engineers from the Sección de Tierras to come and measure the land. His order was to measure each buyer's lot in the same place he had his tillage. Each buyer obtained a lot of thirteen manzanas, and each had to pay the engineer from his own pocket for making the measurements in order to receive the public deed. For ten years they couldn't rent the land or sell it to anyone. Then it came and it was put into effect. The lands in the mountains were for public use, for all to get wood for construction; also to keep their livestock there.
>
> Having done all this they proceeded to choose the place where the town should be. The town was measured. It was measured by an engineer. That is why it is so well plotted. Then they gave each founder a good lot in the town to build his house. My father decided that it would be better to come and live here since he had livestock. Here he built his first little house by that tree. I am not going to cut that tree because it is a souvenir of my father. He planted that tree in front of his little house. He lived here first before they sold Quezada's Hacienda. The co-owners thought they should build public buildings, an office for the mayor and the local commander. They built them with their own hands...They made everything alone, on their own initiative. Everything, everything, everything. Even the roofs were finished. They put bricks on the floor. They made the floor with clay bricks. Each one did his own part. You would be a partner in a society. You would give a thousand dollars, a thousand clay bricks, see? You would go to the mountain to bring a piece of wood, saw it...in short, all in union built this (the town of Quezada). That is why the men who exist today remember the heroism with which they threw themselves into the struggle to become independent from colonato (the state of being a colono).

This account by Gregorio Soto from stories told him by his father was the most complete related by a resident of the Municipio of Quezada, and substantially the same as those given by Leonardo Munoz and Rosalio Arana, both sons of founders.

El Jocote and the twelve other aldeas have come into being since 1900. The founders with thirteen manzanas of land were men of property and many who owned livestock preferred to live on their land rather than in the pueblo where they had been given house sites. By 1918 approximately fifteen families lived in what is now El Jocote. These included not only founders and their families living on titled land, but descendents of founders who had sold their land and claimed their right to the use of the community lands. El Jocote borders the pueblo of Quezada on the east and encroaches upon the astillero or community lands to the west. The western boundry of the aldea has steadily expanded as the landless claim homesites in the astillero. El Jocote, in common with other aldeas in the municipio, absorbs the disinherited and landless who turn to the community lands. However, unlike El Jocote, La Brea, and Laguna Seca, populated entirely by families dependent upon the community lands, El Jocote has a solid core of titled land owners. Because of its contiguity with the town of Quezada, El Jocote, more than other aldeas in the municipio, is dependent upon Quezada and has taken no initiative to provide any community services for its own population.

In each of the seventeen municipios or counties of the Department of Jutiapa the aldeas and caserios are dependent upon a cabecera or administrative center for all of the services and functions of government. Quezada houses the office of mayor, the police, the jail, the archives and the telegraph office. Usually elected by the people, the mayor in 1963 was appointed by the Governor of the Department of Jutiapa who in turn had been appointed by the acting President of Guatemala with new elections not yet permitted. Administration of aldeas and caserios is accomplished by auxiliary mayors appointed in each community by the mayor of the municipio. These serve as messengers for the mayor, notifying residents of the aldeas that the mayor has ordered them to serve their annual work quota in road repair, delivering messages, etc. They have no authority (or responsibility) of their own, and little status is accorded the position of alcalde auxiliar. Most of the aldeas in the Department of Jutiapa have their own schools and larger aldeas that are distant from the cabecera have their own churches, stores and cemeteries. For all of theze services the people of El Jocote are dependent upon Quezada. In this respect, El Jocote resembles the five hundred and forty-two caserios of the Department of Jutiapa more closely than it does the aldeas.

While El Jocote provides no municipal services or facilities for its population, there are few services provided by the cabecera: the protection of the police; the registry of births and deaths; a school to the sixth grade; a cemetery; a church without a priest; and a few commercial services such as a mill for grinding corn, two butchershops, several cantinas, carpentry shops whose chief business is coffin making, a few stores with the usual inventory of candles, salt, matches, sugar, cigarettes, coffee, beans and soft drinks; a druggist without formal training who serves as the doctor for the entire municipio; and a store owned by the local director of schools which stocks yard goods, plastic ware, utensils, a selection of canned goods, beer and soft drinks. There is no market or market place. Quezada's diesel electric light plant first installed before World War II was cited as the only change in the pueblo since 1900. The administrative responsibilities of government and elected officials in Quezada rarely extend beyond the borders of the pueblo. The pueblo offers services to those who live within the pueblo. The problems of El Jocote hold little interest for the officials under whose jurisdiction the aldea falls. The lack of a school in El Jocote, the impassable roads are not thought of as problems unless the issue is raised, and then they are shrugged off as insoluble. Births, deaths and marriages are recorded when reported, but neither government nor local officials know the number of families or population of El Jocote. Quezada, with a population of approximately one thousand eight hundred considers itself "urban," but looks upon El Jocote as rural and its inhabitants as rustic.

Population

El Jocote's population in 1964 was about seven hundred and forty. The birth rate between January 1962 and September 1, 1964 was forty-five point two per thousand while the death rate was ten point two per thousand. Sixty-six percent of the deaths were among the infants under five years of age.[6] There were twenty-nine families living in El Jocote in 1963; these were distributed among one hundred and twenty-one households.[7] Two terms, mestizo and Ladino both apply to the population. Paternal ancestry is Spanish and all given family names are of Spanish origin. Maternal ancestry is Indian. The people consider themselves Ladino and in fact their way of life conforms to the accepted definition of that term.

Education and Literacy

Only Spanish is spoken in El Jocote. Seventy-eight percent of the population over seven years of age is illiterate.[8] Quezada records show that sixty of the seventy-seven children born between January 1962 and August 1964 were born to parents unable to write their names. Among the heads of households, thirty-eight percent of those who attended school at least two years have forgotten how to read, but can still sign their names. There are books in only two of one hundred and twenty-one homes. Literates in two households reported reading newspapers and magazines when they could avail themselves of back copies. The majority of the literates have neither read nor written anything since they left school. Although the school age population in 1963 numbered two hundred and ten, there was no school in El Jocote. Fifty students, equally divided among males and females, attended school either in the morning or afternoon in neighboring Quezada. This was the highest recorded attendance in the history of the community. In the seven year period ended June 1963 one hundred and three children attended school. Six children completed the sixth grade, four dropped out after completing the fifth grade; six after the fourth grade, eighteen after the third grade, seventeen after the second grade, and fifty-two did not go beyond the first grade. In 1963 of the thirty-three children in the first grade, eighteen were repeaters. The average age of students from El Jocote in the first grade is eight point nine years and the range is from seven to fourteen years. School attendance after age fourteen when a person is considered an adult is frowned upon. Boys are embarrassed to go to school after fourteen years and parents who send them are considered overly indulgent. Children who have not begun their education by the age of twelve may be considered lost to education.

Many reasons are cited for low school attendance. Parents living in the western part of the aldea, three kilometers from the school, say there is danger for seven and eight year olds going to school because of hazardous road conditions during the rainy season. They point out that when children of this age work they are accompanied to the fields by their fathers and older brothers. There are other causes for low attendance: the need of families for all hands during planting, cultivating and harvesting seasons (children from five years of age are commonly seen working in the fields); lack of energy due to malnutrition, worms, and illness; lack of parental interest; inability of families to provide books and clothing. The median annual cash income per family in El Jocote in 1963 was approximately $90. Families with school age children averaged eight point thirty-six persons in the household. The paperbound first year school book cost $1.00, and the family is also required to supply pencils and notebooks. While children in the first grade are not expected to wear shoes, pants and shirts are items of expense which prohibit the attendance of many children. Moreover, schools throughout Guatemala require a special uniform for girls for September 15, Guatemala's Independence Day.

When a pilot literacy program for adults was begun in the Department of Jutiapa in 1962, Gregorio Soto volunteered his services as a teacher and his home as a classroom. Thirty students ranging in age from seven to thirty crowded into a adobe house less than twenty feet square to learn to read and write by candle light. The presence of the younger children proved embarrassing to the older students and they soon dropped out, leaving twenty students ranging in age from eight to seventeen. Classes were conducted six nights a week from seven to nine in the evening. Because of fatigue after long days of work in the fields during planting and cultivation and treacherous trails during this rainy season, attendance ranged from two to twelve attendances per student per month. Ten of the students had previously attended the school in Quezada for at least one year. Two had completed the second grade and were considered literate. Three were presumably withdrawn from the day school and attended the night school so that they could work during the day.

Soto conducted classes from February 1962 until November 1962 when he observed the usual two month vacation period of Guatemalan schools. However, classes were not resumed until May, 1963, seven months later, and were then continued only until September when the program was abandoned. Eight of the students had completed the course which had given them a reading vocabulary of between three and four thousand words. Six of these had no previous schooling.

Means of Communication

The network of mud veredas or trails which connect the homes of El Jocote terminate at the western boundary of the town of Quezada. Until the construction of a bridge over the Tempsique River in 1963 and a dirt road to the unpaved Interamerican Highway three kilometers away, the only access to Quezada for trucks and buses was an eight kilometer stretch of deeply rutted road often impassable during the rainy season. Most of the traffic in and out of the valley was by mules and horses which could ford the river. With the completion of the bridge in February 1963, daily bus service between the departmental capital of Jutiapa and between Quezada and Guatemala City was established. Prior to the construction of the bridge, trucks and jeeps occasionally came to Quezada but cars were a curiosity. By 1964 there was hardly a day that at least one automobile was not seen. Corn, beans and tobacco comprised the bulk of trade out of Quezada, and were transported in the trucks of the buyers.

With the opening of the bridge a variety of vendors and new services have come to Quezada. Peddlers of furniture, yard goods and plastic raincoats occasionally wandered through the streets of Quezada calling "Maria! Maria!" to the housewives. During June, July and August 1963 a light truck from Jutiapa selling ice cream and blaring Mexican music came to Quezada twice a week. The truck never ventured up the passable quarter mile dirt road into El Jocote. During this period one small panel truck with music and loud speaker advertising "twist chicks" went a few hundred yards into El Jocote and parked for half an hour. The chicks were day old leghorn cockerels which sold for five cents. Many children and women came to see and two chicks were sold. The owners of Quezada's stores reported in 1963 that while more goods were available to them, the economy did not warrant an increase in the variety or quantity of their stocks. However, in 1964 a new store had started business and the usual stock of candles, matches, cigarettes, sardines, soft drinks, sugar and beer had been supplemented with bananas, onions, powdered milk and a modest assortment of canned packaged goods produced in Guatemala. The bridge also brought a weekly movie to Quezada, an hour showing of U. S. Westerns and Tarzan films held in the municipal building with an admission price of ten cents for children and twenty-five cents for adults. Most of those shown in 1963 were in English with Spanish sub-titles. The primitive settings of the films, the easy identification of heroes and villains, the unsophisticated story lines self evident in the action seemed geared to the entertainment of an illiterate audience as well as the uncritical literate audience for which they were produced.

In 1962 there were eight battery powered radio sets in El Jocote, but two of these had dead batteries which the owners were unable to replace immediately because of cost. In the _pueblo_ several homes and nearly all stores and _cantinas_ have radios which are operated between six and ten o'clock at night when the diesel electric plant serving the _pueblo_ is operating. In 1964 there were four new transistor radios in El Jocote and stores in Jutiapa reported increasing sales of transistor batteries.

Quezada provides daily incoming and outgoing mail service for the entire _municipio._ Letters addressed to El Jocote are delivered by the _Alcaldes Auxilares_. There is no telephone service in Quezada, but in common with all _municipios_ throughout Guatemala, there is telegraph service to all other _cabeceras_ or administrative centers.

Agriculture, A Way of Life

The El Jocoteco, like his neighbors in the other eleven _aldeas_ of Quezada and in _aldeas_ and _caserios_ throughout the Department of Jutiapa, conforms to Redfield's (1956) definition of a peasant; he has a close bond to the land; he is dependent upon the land for survival; he is more concerned with . . ..

cultivation of the land for production of food for home consumption than for trade; he sees virtue and finds happiness in working the land; and he teaches his children the virtures and joy of working in the field. Moreover, the quality and quantity of man's work affects his status in the community. Fathers and sons speak of each other as good workers or hard workers. Both fathers and mothers when asked the kind of husband they would like for their daughters mention a good or a hard worker as the first requirement. Children place work in the fields with the men above play as their first wish. One child when pressed on this point, declared, "It is better to work than to play, for if we don't work, we won't eat." An eight year old boasted of working with the men and pointed out that his seven year old cousin was only allowed to do errands, mandados, and was not yet a "man."

El Jocote and other communities in the Valley of Quezada deviate from the description of the subsistence peasant society only in that some families raise a little tobacco, the principal cash crop of the Municipio of Quezada. Every family in El Jocote raises corn and beans, nearly always planted together and usually on the same land year after year. No fertilizer was used on the milpa until 1964 when one person reported using a small quantity. Corn producation ranged from three quintales per manzana on depleted lands to sixteen quintales in the valley and averaged about ten quintales. Approximately one third of the families raise a small surplus of corn and beans and this is sold to buyers who come to Quezada during the harvest season. Among a sample of thirty-two families in 1962 six sold a total of one hundred and sixteen quintal of corn at $4.00 per quintal and nine sold sixty-five quintales of beans at $8.00 per quintal. Those who had graneros, galvanized silos for the storage of corn, were able, if their crops were good, to store sufficient corn to feed their family until the following harvest. Those unable to afford the cost of

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a granero ($11.50) left the corn on the ear until January or February and then stored in beneath the ceiling of the house. Loss by rats and birds is high. Families without graneros must buy corn before the next harvest. In 1962 nineteen of the thirty-two families reported buying both corn and beans at an average price of $5.00 per quintal for corn and $10.00 for beans. Following a poor harvest in 1963, few families reported a disposable surplus. Most were forced to buy corn and beans starting April 1964 and the price of corn rose to $6.00 and beans to $12.00 per quintal.

There is a pride in a well-kept milpa and once a seed is planted and the corn sprouted the fields are cultivated every day despite rain and mud. During June, and July only women and very small children are seen on the streets or in the houses of the community from early morning to dusk. Only on the fiesta days of St. Peter and St. John in June does the work stop. With the slackening in cultivation in August, Sunday is observed as a day of rest. The ground is prepared between the first of May and the first of June depending on the weather. Most commonly, the ground is worked with the azadon, a large hoe,and general utility instrument which also serves as shovel, pick and rake. The cuma or planting stick is used to open the earth for the seed. In 1962 there were twelve teams of oxen in the community and these were often rented out at $2.00 per day for oxen, plow and driver. The steel, or "English" plow is highly valued, but its use is not understood. The usual practice is to break the soil in each direction with the wooden plow and to use the steel plow to build surcos or hills for planting corn.

Black tobacco, the principal cash crop of the municipio is produced by a third of the families of El Jocote on one-quarter to two manzanas. Seed and fertilizer are advanced against the crop by the Tabacalera Nacional which maintains an area representative in Quezada. Tobacco production averages ten quintales per manzana and the price per quintal paid by the Tabacalera in 1962 was $20.00 for first grade, $18.00 for second and $16 00 for third grade tobacco. Tobacco is the only crop to which fertilizer is applied and this is enforced by the contact each grower enters into with the Tabacalera. In 1962 nine families in El Jocote defaulted on their agreements with the Tabacalera, either selling their tobacco to private buyers or selling the fertilizer advanced by the Tabacalera for ready cash and thus inviting crop failure. The debts ranged from $11.00 to $39.00. The average income from tobacco in 1962 before deducting the cost of seed and fertilizer was $160.00 and ranged from $51.00 to $388.00.

Beyond the three chief crops of corn, beans, and tobacco, maicillo is planted in the milpa by all of the poorer families and used in tortillas. A few cuerdas of sugar cane are grown by families holding community land along the Tempisque River. One family had a manzana of rice and two others had small plots of rice. Six families raised coffee and owned from fifty to two hundred trees. The coffee beans, were sold locally. Few domestic animals are raised. Hog cholera and fowl typhoid make raising pigs and chickens unprofitable, but two-thirds of the families have a thin sow and a runty grey boar and nearly all of the women keep a few chickens. Chickens are expected to lay one to two eggs a week. Seldom consumed, eggs, chicken and pigs are taken to the pueblo or Jutiapa to be sold. One woman periodically bought chickens from her neighbors and took them to Guatemala to sell. A chicken, valued at fifty cents, is worth as much or more than a man is able to earn in a day on a nearby finca. Pigs in good condition are worth $15.00 . Among thirty-two households interviewed in 1962 only two, both with income considerably above the average for the community, reported having killed a pig for home consumption within the past year. Eight households reported having sold a total of fourteen pigs. While both pigs and chicken provide a small cash income, over half the households reported eating chicken an average of once every other week. In El Jocote as well as in four other communities of Jutiapa visited, chicken is rated as most desired among meats and poultry and pork the least desired.

Two-thirds of the households owned a horse or a mule, which according to their owners ranged in value from $40.00 to $100.00. These were never used in plowing or cultivation and there were no carts or wheeled vehicles in El Jocote. The better horses and mules, owned by the families of greatest wealth, were kept on pasture and occasionally used on trips to neighboring *aldeas*. The majority were used to transport the harvest from the *milpa* and pack wood from the community lands for the kitchen. They were seldom ridden except by the children who accompanied their fathers to a distant *milpa*. Oxen were used to drag logs from the community lands.

Approximately a third of the households own one or more cows. Eleven of the families interviewed in 1962 owned twenty-eight cows of which ten were native breeds and were reported to give an average of two liters per milking during the rainy season when pasture is available. In the winter season, from October to April both pasture and milk production dry up. The number of cattle in the municipality has declined steadily since the division of the Hacienda. Pasture land has given way to *milpa*. With the growth of population, the amount of titled land per capita is rapidly diminishing. Among four families now comprising fifty-two point three percent of the population of El Jocote, land per cápita in the first generation (Cerca 1900) amounted to one point ninety-two *manzanas*. In 1962 the per capita land ownership was point thirty-five *manzanas*. As will be noted in a later chapter the decline in per capita land ownership was not uniform. In the period from 1900 to 1963 land ownership in one family decreased from the original thirteen *manzanas* to eight *manzanas*, while the number of persons dependent upon the land increased from seventeen to sixty-eight. In another family land ownership during the same period increased from thirteen manzanas to one hundred and twenty-four, but the dependent population increased from twelve to over four hundred.

There is no land for expansion except in the astillero and all arable land in the astillero has long since been claimed. Further expansion of cultivation will accelerate the erosion of steep wooded hillsides where patches of milpa now yield as little as three quintales of corn after laborious preparation and cultivation. More often, the hillside milpa is washed away during a temporal, winter rain, or dried up during a canicula, or dry spell. A family can increase its land ownership only at the expense of another family. Land is sold only under extreme duress; sickness, bad debts, widows without children old enough to take over responsibility. The acquisition of land by one family was uniformly explained by the misfortune of another. It was said that drink and illness have been chiefly responsible for the loss of land. However, the major land sales in El Jocote were executed in the twenties and thirties by a few members of the second generation who inherited land while still young, sold it and left the community. There have been no land sales reported by members of the third generation and few have left the community.

Only two cases were observed where land was given to children while the parents were alive: in one a mother divided her inheritance among her sons, and in another a piece of land was given a daughter upon her marriage. Both donors were among the larger land owners of the community. Distribution of land is uneven. Although primogeniture is not practised and land is generally divided equally among recognized male and female children, the division of property usually takes place after the death of the father. In El Jocote today there are few families without living members of the second generation (sons of founders) and these range in age from thirty-six to eighty-eight years of age. Living members of the second generation in 1963 had from six to seventy-six descendents and land ownership ranged from zero to thirty _manzanas_. Few members of the third generation, ranging in age from five years to fifty -seven years owned any land. Only four members of the fourth generation of one family were known to own land. Illegitimate children unrecognized by their fathers owned little land and this was received by inheritance from the mother, or by purchase. It should be recalled that 10 of the _fundadores_ who participated in the land division of the Hacienda were women and that inheritance is often shared by the daughters. With diminishing per capita land resources and the fear of having nothing to leave to one's children, land ownership and rights to community property introduce critical issues in community as well as personal affairs. In 1963 El Jocote turned down a Tri-Partite school[9] when no one would sell a piece of property for a school site, and the community was seized with the fear that authorities might condemn land for the school. Condemnation of land in Buena Vista in 1961 for the road and bridge connecting Quezada with the Interamerican Highway was branded as "communistic" and a violation of the protection of property rights guaranteed by the presidental decree. In 1963 the Tabacalera Nacional met resistence in its efforts to introduce Turkish tobacco. Despite careful explanations that a crop of Turkish tobacco after repayment of loans for seed and fertilizer would be worth several times the value of ordinary black tobacco, many land owners rejected the plan on the grounds that they had no guarantee that the crop would succeed, that they had no experience with Turkish tobacco, and if the crop did fail they might have to forfeit their land in payment of the high seed and fertilizer costs. In short, the plan was perceived as a scheme to gain possession of their land.[10] When Antonio Garcia, agricultural extension agent for the Department of Jutiapa, tried to organize 4-S Clubs (the equivalent of our 4-H Clubs) in a nearby community, he was accused of holding meetings at night for the purpose of organizing communist cells to take over the land. It is reported that in the late fifties when U. S. Engineers were assisting the Guatemalan Government in the mapping of

Jutiapa Department the rumor spread in the Municipio of Quezada that the United States was negotiating to buy the lands of the former Hacienda.

The pattern of land ownership dictates the pattern of work. The responsibility of land ownership carries with it reponisbility for providing work and sharing the harvest with one's male children and grandchildren. Much as the pattern in the days of the Hacienda granted tillage to the colono in return for services rendered, so the head of the family in 1963 set aside tillage for his sons, who in return worked the father's land. Two other patterns of working family land exist in El Jocote. In at least two cases, sons rented land for $10.00 per manzana from their fathers. In the other cases (the number not determined by the writer), fathers and sons worked the land together and shared the harvest according to their separate needs. No case is recorded where a man worked the land or shared the crops of his wife's father. There were several cases where married daughters with large families barely subsisted on marginal community lands, while their fathers shared their productive titled land with their sons and their son's families.

Planting and harvesting takes precedence over all other activities and every able-bodied male takes to the fields from dawn to dusk. From June to September, attendance at the Quezada school drops off sharply, and those who do attend the afternoon session are said by the teachers to be too tired to concentrate on their school work. During planting, the work carries on seven days a week. Tortillas, frijoles, and water are brought to the men at noontime by the wives, sisters and daughters who often walk as far as five kilometers to the milpa. By nine o'clock in the evening the family has usually gone to bed.

Until recently, the principal opportunity for work outside the community was afforded in March and April cutting sugar cane at the Finca Sonrisa, about twenty kilometers west of the municipio. Job qualifications are youth and strength, wages average forty cents a day with beans and tortillas. This is also the rate of pay in the Quezada valley for those who can afford to hire occasional help. Those who have worked for others say that a laborer should receive seventy-five cents to one dollar a day. Those who have not worked for others or who have occasionally employed others say that forty cents to fifty cents a day is a fair wage. With the growing of cotton along Guatemala's Pacific coastal plain near Champerico and San José, labor is recruited throughout the Department of Jutiapa. During the cotton picking season, truck drivers, locally called conquistadores, recruit labor at seventy-five cents a day. The promised rates of pay are said to be often higher than that received and fear of being taken advantage of is often expressed. The average campesino in El Jocote knows he is ignorant and thinks of himself as humble or humilde. He is not happy working far from home; he does it out of economic necessity. Those who must go to Guatemala City once a year to receive their crop advance from the Tabacalera do not report taking advantage of the opportunity to see the sights of the capital. The costs of the city are high and they feel out of place. They return to El Jocote and Quezada as quickly as possible.

For peasants throughout the world there is a deep attachment to the land. For the people of El Jocote there is also a hand-written presidental decree in the archives of the nation that guarantees title to the land and the rights of the descendents of the founders to the use of the community lands of Quezada in perpetuity. In 1963, seven hundred and seventeen households from all parts of the municipio had been granted the right to farm community lands. Although title to the land remains with the Municipio of Quezada individuals who can prove descent from a founder are given exclusive use of plots of land reported to range from one to seven manzanas. This land can be used for a home site and fenced if the fencing does not obstruct rights of way. The land can also be passed on to survivors. The community lands are administered by a president elected by those who have rights to the land, the president assisted by two representatives from each of of the aldeas and the pueblo.

To the sons and grandsons of men who own land, the promise of inheritance holds them to the community. To those without hope of inheritance and little prospect of earning enough to buy land either in the community or elsewhere, the guarantee of their rights to the community lands offers security. To both, the valley of Quezada offers family and names that are familiar, a history of which they are a part, a way of life and property rights that are secure.

Descriptive Data from 1962 Interviews

(N = 30 Households)

Average age of household heads.......................... 51.1 years
Average age of their wives..............................44.8 years

Average number of children per couple .... 8.0 children

Infant Mortality (as percent of children born) 18.9 %

Residence of Married Children:

	Married Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters
Living with Parents	14	0	4
Not Living with Parents	9	33	5

Average number living in household ....7.4 persons

Houses:

Construction
Adobe 14
Bajareque 8
Entoldado............ 8

Floors
Earth 29
Tile 1

Roof
Tile............... 27
Grass.............. 3

Rooms
One room.............21
Two rooms........... 8
Three rooms.......... 1

Furnishings:
Average # of tables......1.6
Average # of chairs..... 2.7
Average # beds.......... 3.26 (2.3 persons per bed.)

Source of Water:

River	25 households
Well	5 households

Sanitation:

Fields	30 households
Latrines	0 households

Land Ownership:

# With titled land	24 households
Average # manzanas owned	3.83 manzanas
# Without titled land	6 households
# With community land	22 households
Average # manzanas worked	1.45 manzanas
# Without community land	8 households

Agricultural Productivity:

Average # qunitales of beans per manzana	5.7 quintales
Average # quintales of corn per manzana	7.0 quintales

Travel:

Frequency of visits to Guatemala City:

Within past month	13	(For crop loan from Tabacalera)
Several times within the past year	2	
Once within past year	6	
Not for many years	1	
Never	8	

Frequency of visits to Jutiapa:

Within past month	10
Several times within past year	1
Once within past year	10
Not for many years	2
Never	7

Frequency of visits to Sonsonate (Salvador) :

Many years ago	16
Never	14

Frequency of visits to Esquipulas:

Many years ago	19
Never	11

Mass media exposure:

Own radio	4
Don't own radio	26
Last time heard radio:	
Within week	16
Within month	7
Within year	2
Never	4

CHART II

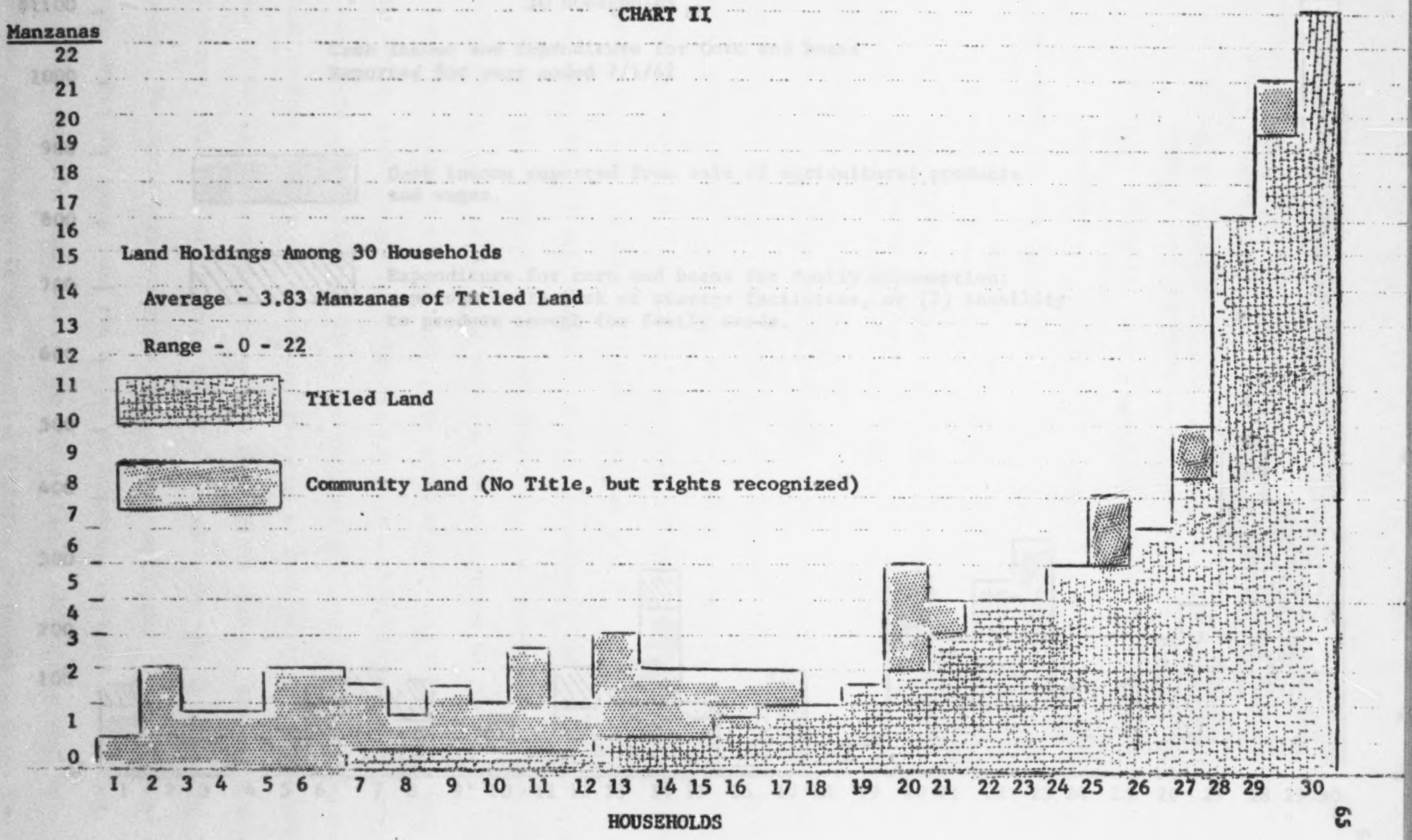
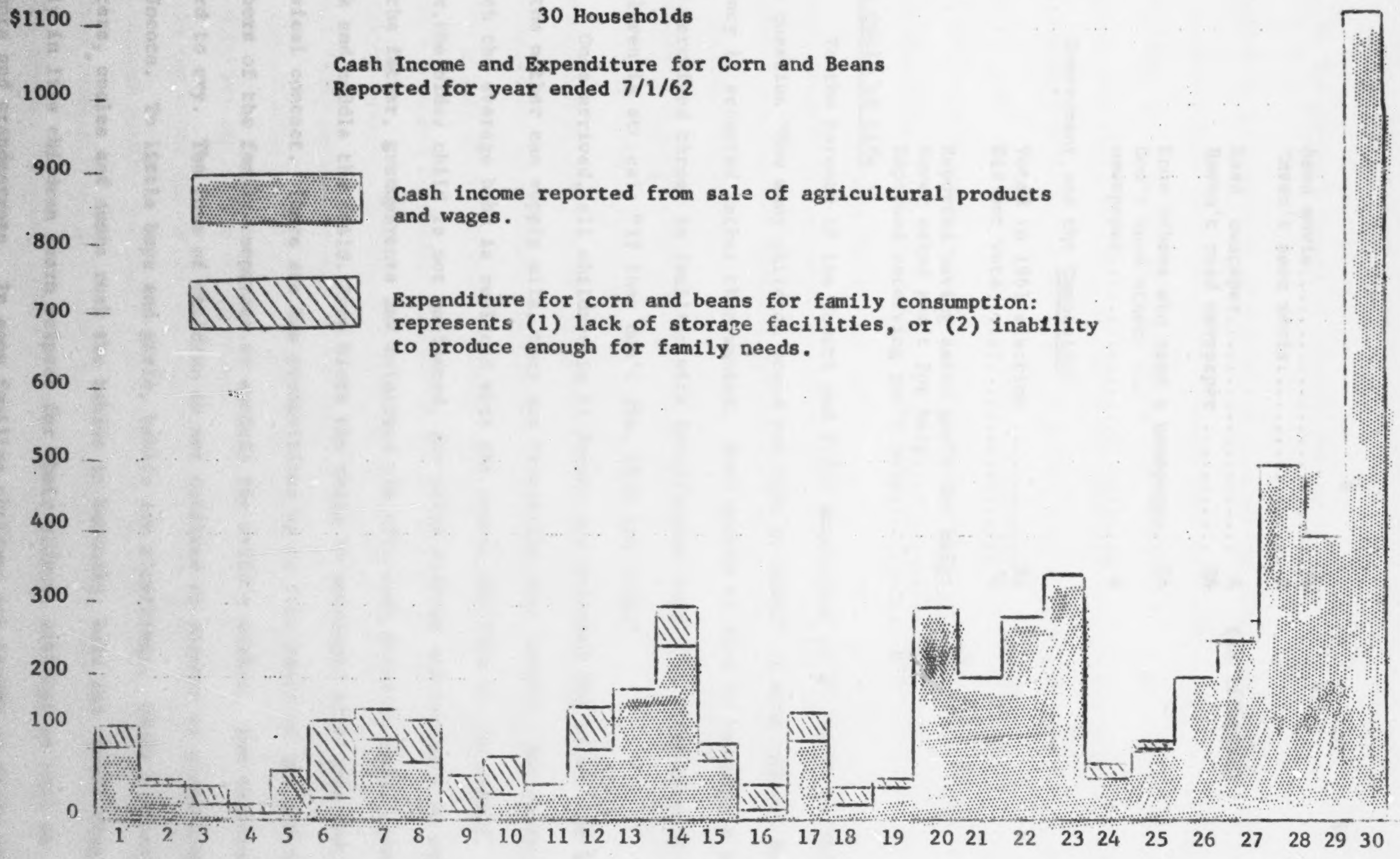

Manzanas
22
21
20
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
Land Holdings Among 30 Households
Average - 3.83 Manzanas of Titled Land
Range - 0 - 22
Titled Land
Community Land (No Title, but rights recognized)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30
HOUSEHOLDS

CHART III

30 Households

Cash Income and Expenditure for Corn and Beans
Reported for year ended 7/1/62



Seen movie	24	
Haven't seen movie	6	
Read newspaper	4	(In lifetime)
Haven't read newspaper	26	
Know others who read a newspaper	24	
Don't know others who [illegible] newspaper	6	

Government and the Campesino:

Voted in 1961 election	24
Did not vote	6
Reported having asked gov't for help	2
Never asked gov't for help	28
Reported receiving gov't help	1

The Cycle of Life

To the parents of the fourth and fifth generation in El Jocote in 1963 the question "How many children would you like to have?" is meaningless. Pregnancy is accepted rather than wanted. More mouths to feed is becoming a real and perceived threat to families with insufficient land, but acceptance of more children is stoical: "If they don't die, they can help."

Once arrived, all children in El Jocote are welcomed and loved. As long as the mother can supply milk, they are breast-fed when hungry. Two years after birth the average baby is replaced with the newest addition to the family. However, the older child is not neglected, for older sisters and brothers as well as the father, grandparents and relatives vie with each other to hold, carry, rock and cuddle the child. From birth the child is enveloped with love and warm physical contact. There are few prohibitions up to four years of age and all members of the family cooperate to satisfy the child's wishes. Few children are heard to cry. The love of children is not confined to parents or grandparents in El Jocote. To little boys and girls, babies are playthings. Older brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts rock the babies in hammocks, hold and caress them. Early in life children learn respect for their elders; siblings as well as parents and grandparents. In some families children are taught to place the palms of their hands together when greeting grandparents or important vistors, a relic of the colono's symbol of respect for the patrón.

Whether it is ignorance of disease or love of the soil, children are never taught to fear contact with the earth. Barefooted and clothed only in a shirt or dress, children sit and play on the ground, stuff pebbles in their mouths and pour loose earth over their bodies. No parent was ever observed to admonish a child for putting dirty fingers in the mouth or eating food that had fallen on the ground.

The man-made environment of the child is undifferentiated from one house to another; windowless houses with grey adobe walls and mud floors, few pictures, no books or magazines, no toys, no machinery save an occasional hand grinder. Furniture is unpainted and of crude design and construction. The home is brightened only by geraniumns, daisies and caladium in broken pots under the corredor or cut flowers on the simple home altar. Clothing and articles of personal adornment are similarly sparse, drab and unchanging.

Children are given their first responsibilities when they are old enough to mind younger siblings. There are few toys or games and child play consists of the early assumption of adult roles or tasks which adults would do if there weren't children available to do them: running errands, chasing pigs, chickens and birds out of the milpa, gathering wood, carrying water to the men in nearby fields. Raised in a home and community environment where the joys of life, the fears of life, status, success, failure, and survival are based upon working the land, children readily assimilate work as the goal of life. Work, in fact, becomes a reward, for children are allowed to undertake certain adult tasks only when they reach the proper age or are strong enough.

While the older generation deplores what they feel is the younger generation's growing lack of respect for their elders and that young people today are not as disciplined about keeping good company and refraining from "bad words," all ages agree that respect for one's elders is the most important thing to be learned in the home and in school. Respect is mentioned before love when one describes his feeling towards his parents. The verb *mandar* is perhaps the most important in the child's vocabulary. Children seldom show disrespect or fail to perform promptly their *mandados* or errands. Failure in either brings swift punishment; a hard switching or a well-placed paternal foot. In the case of older children, including grown men with families, disobedience may bring disheritance. Few other occasions for punishment were observed: thoughtlessness with younger children, carelessness with animals. Accidents, the dropping of a *cantaro* or the loss of few pennies on an errand, are not punished, but the child does not take these misfortunes lightly.

In the homes of El Jocote there is no privacy; birth, death and the natural functions of the body are a normal part of every child's education and there is no curiosity about them. Boys seldom wear pants until they are four or five years old and girls wear dresses but seldom have underpants. As noted earlier, the older children are entrusted with the care of younger children and this involves a great deal of bodily contact and casual bodily play. Nursing mothers allow older jealous children to cuddle up in their laps and play with their breasts.

Despite this intimate knowledge of life and the human body and its functions, children learn early in life that it is proper for males and females to bathe separately at specified locations in the river, and that it is improper for females to expose their bodies to women or men. While the female bathes in public, she always wears a dress. The male bathes naked at a secluded bend of the river. Privacy also is true of both male and female bodily functions or perhaps more accurately these are performed so casually and arouse so little interest as to be unobserved.

No discussion of sex between parents and children nor between males and females was observed or reported. However, men often discuss available women. While sex and bodily functions are not discussed and are performed with modesty, both are the subject of much humor. The manliness of a donkey, a horse or child occasions gales of laughter, without comment, by both women and men. Similiary, breaking wind never goes unnoticed. From the age of five and six, boys are seldom without the company of their fathers and share their work, its satisfactions and fears. When strong enough to accompany the father to the fields and use and azadón, the boy is given his first hat, a symbol of being able to do a man's work. He will be given a furrow to hoe and work along with the father and older brothers. Starting from scratch on their own furrows, the family will soon be stretched across the field as the older and stronger members of the families out-distance the little ones. If the milpa is in the astillero, distant from home, and planting, cultivating or harvesting behind schedule, the men may spend the night in the milpa under a grass thatched shelter or lean-to. If the family owns a horse or mule and returns home, the children will take turns riding. The men work silently and there is little conversation going to or from work. Yet, there is no sense of drudgery or sadness about the work. Families are on the road to the milpa shortly after sun rise and seldom pass a neighbor without the greeting, adiós, or the shortened , 'diós, or diós pues, or in a more expansive mood, Que le vaya bien. When men gather to visit, the children sit about observing but are discretely quiet. Long intervals of silence are punctuated with brief comments about the milpa, the weather, the work and the harvest. If the father owns titled land, the male children will continue to form a part of his household until his death, bringing their wives and raising their children on land or homes provided by the father, if he is the oldest living male, or the grandfather. Throughout the life of the father, the son will show him the respect that custom demands. The male in El Jocote is clearly perceived as the head of the household and his work and authority are well defined. He clears the ground, plows, plants, cultivates and gathers the harvest. He takes care of livestock and makes the necessary repairs to the home.

He teaches and encourages his sons to work and determines whether they shall go to school or work. He is the master of his wife, but is not expected to be faithful to her. He can recognize or refuse to recognize his illegitimate children. He insists upon respect and obedience, but is rarely called upon to make an issue of his authority.

In a series of interviews conducted among various households of one family, the head of the family appeared at every interview. He was a man in his seventies, quite deaf and slightly senile, yet he undertook to answer for the family every question that he heard or understood. It was only when the father failed to hear a question that the person to whom the question was addressed would volunteer an answer. In 1963, having paid each family the courtesy of a visit the year before, the investigator rented a newly built house in the center of the aldea and invited to the house only those he wished to interview.

For a woman, the happiest times in her life were before she was married. Girls are carefully shielded by their parents and despite the fact that families live together in a one room house and that natural functions and procreation are a part of a child's education, it is maintained that girls know nothing about sex before marriage and that many even after marriage do not associate the sex act with procreation.

In El Jocote most women bear children regularly every other year beginning with the first year of marriage. Ages are often computed by establishing an age for the youngest or eldest and working out the ages of the others at two year intervals.

The relationship between mother and daughter is similiar to that between fathers and sons. The first girl in the family signals a helping hand in the work of the mother. The role of the female begins at about four when she is old enough to watch the two year old. Girls are important in the care of children and the oldest girl in the family rarely is sent to school. At six or seven girls gather wood, run errands and accompany their mothers to the river to wash and to the gasoline powered mill in Quezada where corn is ground for tortillas. Girls seldom are allowed to "tortillar" until they are ten years old, and girls who have been entrusted with the making of tortillas are proud of the responsibility. In a subsistence economy a pound of corn meal is expected to provide a given number of tortillas. Moreover, as with good cooks everywhere, there is the question of quality. A tortilla can be either heavy and sodden or light and delicate. Women in El Jocote pride themselves on the quality of their tortillas and know the number that every pound of meal should produce. They also know how many tortillas each member of the family will eat. As soon as she is considered strong enough the daughter will fetch water from the river. Many families live a kilometer or more from the river, and as many as six trips a day are made carrying one three gallon cantaro of water on the head and another on the hip. She will continue to make tortillas, wash clothes and carry water until her own children are old enough to help her.

The daughter will be taught to respect older people and men. Her mother will tell her nothing about sex but will warn her not to go to the river alone and never to walk alone at night, and not to "get too close" to boys. She will bathe several times a week and when she is about fifteen will spend more time combing her hair. She will also receive her first pair of shoes and a new cotton print dress, for now she is of courting age. However, her mother will eye every novio with suspicion and will try to police her activities so that she will not find herself alone with a man. She will be courted in the day time and usually at the river when she goes to wash or get water. However, she will not go to the river alone unless she wishes to be taken by a man. If she and her parents agree to a novio's proposal of marriage, she will go to the house of the parents of the novio to make tortillas and help the boy's mother until a civil wedding is arranged. While her grandmother probably was married in the Quezada church, a church wedding is now considered too costly. Moreover, the consent of both families constitutes the strongest sanction in that both parties have respected the wishes of their parents. Civil ceremonies generally follow such sanction, but need not take place before the marriage act is consumated. On the other hand, common law marriages without the consent of parents occur frequently but generally between couples whose families are either landless or of lower status in the community. The wife will be expected to be faithful to her husband. After marriage she will give little attention to personal appearance, the brief period of fine clothes and courtly attention from the male having passed. To her pre-marriage chores of making tortillas, hauling water and washing clothes will be added the duties of bed companion, mother and manager of the household. The last will include the care of chickens and pigs.

When there are no girls in the family or if the wife is sick, sons and husbands will draw water and collect firewood. The investigator has also seen boys washing clothes. However, the investigator knows of no case of a male making tortillas. Widows, on the other hand, do cultivate their own milpa and several cases were observed where women assisted men in the field when planting was behind schedule.

Unlike the males, the women enjoy more interaction and conversation. Going to the mill in the pueblo she is one of a group of women. When she washes at the river, there are usually at least one or two others and often fifteen or twenty women washing. Hauling water is also a social occasion. In at least three families with wells the women continue to go to the river to wash, presumably for the social activity. When men are present, women defer to the men on questions concerning agriculture and men's work, but in the absence of the husband they will discuss agriculture and their information has proved accurate. A similiar statement can be made about men. Questions concerning child care and feeding, nutrition, food consumption, illnesses, religious practices and the number of chickens usually are answered by the women, although the men know the answers.

In El Jocote religious observance is largely the women's function. Although few women claimed that they attended church in Quezada as often as once a month, they do maintain a simple home altar consisting of a table decorated with colored tissue paper, fresh flowers and a picture of a saint, which is usually embellishing an advertisement. The girls collect flowers for the altar and also celebrate the novenas. Women play a major role in funeral ceremonies, laying out the body, burning incense under the bed on which the corpse is laid out, welcoming visitors to an all night wake at which aquardiente is drunk, offering cigarettes, and receiving gifts from mourners. An official certificate of death demands a statement by the empirico and a recording of the event by the secretary of the municipio. Family and friends are impressed by this recognition and it is an important part of the ceremony. Taking the coffin to the cemetery, interrment and the following bout at the local cantina is the man's job.

The Illegitimate Child

Most women expect that men will have extra-marital relations and illegitimate children. In El Jocote those few families who insist upon a civil wedding classify the children of parents who live together without benefit of a civil ceremony as illegitimate. However, the majority regard as legitimate the children of a couple who live together as man and wife and who have given their names to the children, although no record of marriage has been registered in the cabecera. There is common agreement that children who are not recognized by the father as well as children of one women by different fathers are illegitimate. Approximately eighteen percent of the population can be so classified. Widows and unmarried women of low status families account for most of the illegitimate children of El Jocote, those brought up without a father and not recognized by their fathers. The mothers freely and without embarrassment name the fathers of their children and this knowledge is common in the community. There are also a few women of good family and education who have selected to remain single and select the fathers of their children. Unmarried school teachers (with illegitimate children) are not uncommon in the Department of Jutiapa. The teachers were accorded high status within their communities and their cash incomes were often the highest in the community. These women made clear to the investigator that they were not handicapped by lack of a husband and enjoyed the freedom to spend their income and raise their children as they saw fit. In El Jocote, the educated daughter of one of the largest landowners has seven children by four men. Vigorous and independent, she bakes and sells bread, owns a sewing machine and has educated four of five children of school age. Illegitimate children are loved and accepted by the maternal grandparents, but do not exist in the eyes of the father's family. In one case, the paternal grandfather of an illegitimate child drove the mother from his land. Authority over the illegitimate child is exercised by the mother and her father if the child is a male. The child is accepted by the mother's family and his peers as an equal. He is accepted as an equal member of the community by his father's family, but any relationship is denied. He is cut off from paternal inheritance, but may inherit land from his mother, if she owns any. He carries only his mother's name and is, in fact, identified only with his mother's family. In El Jocote, illegitimacy carries few disadvantages, social or economic. In infancy the illegitimate child lacks neither the love nor attention given recognized children. As a growing boy he works with his mother's brothers and maternal grandfather, rather than with his father's family. His rights to use of the community land are not impaired if his maternal grandparents were among the *fundadores*.

With decreasing land and the tendency for families of wealth to favor the marriage of their children to wealth, the illegitimate children face bleaker prospects of land ownership. However, their economic lot promises to be no worse than that of the majoirty of legitimate children.

House and House Furnishings

Most of the houses occupied by the fundadores in El Jocote and Quezada are still in use and must be pointed out specifically for they differ little from houses built today. Approximately half of the houses are of locally made adobe bricks, and the balance of bajareque (a wooden frame chinked with clay) and entoldado (vertical poles; no clay added) construction. Nine out of ten have roofs of red clay tile laid on poles spaced four inches apart; the remainder are of straw. Only two houses in the community have tile floors. One hundred nineteen have earth floors, and these are swept daily. The average house has one room approximately sixteen feet by twenty feet, one door, no windows, and a porch (corredor) extending the length of the house in front. Caladium, daisies and geraniums are often planted in cracked pots and salvaged cans under the corredor. A sheet of plain plastic or a blanket is sometimes used as a room divider when a baby is born. The poyo, a wooden platform covered with a bank of clay on which fires for cooking are built, is usually located at one end of the corredor, but occasionally is found within the house or in a separate building. There are no chimneys and smoke filters out of the space under the eaves or through the cornstalk or pole walls which enclose the kitchen end of the corredor. There are few flies in the kitchen. Each house has a piedra or stone for grinding corn meal for tortillas and a comal or round earthenware griddle for cooking tortillas, both replicas of household utensils found in Mayan homes centuries earlier. Every house has several jugs or cantaros for water, a pot or two, and a few knives, forks, spoons, cups and plates, but not enough for the entire family. A few homes have hand corn grinders, saving the women the daily trip to the mill in the pueblo, but also reducing their social activity.

There are no unused furnishings in El Jocote. The average house has three rope beds, twenty-eight to forty inches wide and six feet long, each covered with a palm mat, or petate. At least two people are expected to sleep in each bed, and if children are small 3 share a bed. If the household is overcrowded some members sleep on a petate laid on the earth floor. Several homes have bedsteads with straw mattresses. The average house also has two or three crudely made straightback chairs bought in Quezada or Jutiapa, a smooth log used for a bench, a hammock and two tables. Every house will use one table or a box mounted on the back wall for an altar, consisting of a picture of a saint, a few unused candles, and a canopy of colored tissue paper, artificial flowers and seed pods. Occasionally fresh cut flowers are placed on the altar.

Houses offer little privacy and hold no secrets or surprises. The contents and arrangements of each house in El Jocote are similiar. Household activities as well as furnishings observe a familiar pattern that evokes neither curiosity nor invidious comparison. Families are seen eating breakfast and supper under the corredor. Visiting takes place under the corredor. The grinding of corn and making tortillas, the nursing of children are all within view of friendly but disinterested passers-by. Only aftersundown when darkness envelopes the community is there privacy, an average of eight persons sharing a single room. There are no locks in El Jocote and doors are usually closed only at night. When the women and children take lunch to the men in the fields or go to the river, the house is well guarded by snarling mongrel dogs showing every rib.

Clothes

There are few older men in the community who still wear the clothes of the colono, a handmade collarless white shirt buttoned at the neck, handmade loose white cotton trousers and thonged sandals. It is reported that within the memory of some still living, colorful Indian costumes were occasionally seen on the Hacienda, but these it is said were not worn by the fundadores or their families. Very few men or women wear shoes, although as noted earlier males and females at courting age will wear shoes if the family can possibly afford them. The men uniformly wear green or blue pants and white cotton shirts. Boys wear the same kind of clothes, but hand-me-downs with multiple patches are common until new green or blue pants, a new white shirt and shoes are provided for courting. During the rainy season sandals and shoes are abandoned for the deep mud sucks them off. Broad brim straw hats are worn by all males when they start to work in the fields. The women wear simple ready-made cotton print dresses and aprons. None of the durable colorful hand-loomed Indian fabrics that crowd markets elsewhere are sold or worn here. Few are able to afford the black dress or black shawl of mourning.

Sunday dress is the same as week-day dress, except that when planting is finished young people of courting age wear their best new clothes, walk to the pueblo, linger on the corners, or gather in quiet clusters at cross roads of the aldea.

The custom of delaying the purchase of new clothes and shoes until courting age precludes the school attendance of many children clothed in rags. The child between eight and eleven who is ashamed to go to school for lack of a whole shirt or pants, will at fifteen or sixteen if a girl, and between seventeen and nineteen if a boy, be outfitted to attract a suitable mate and favorably impress the prospective in-laws.

Diet

Custom, climate and diminishing land resources govern the diet in El Jocote. Black beans and corn made into tortillas have provided the principal fare, three meals a day as long as anyone in the aldea can remember. Tortillas are made once a day after breakfast and are warmed for each meal. The chief difference between the diets of the rich and the poor in El Jocote is that "the rich occasionally have a little milk and meat." In a Ladino peasant society, production of corn and beans is a way of life as well as a means of survival that has been proven through generations: Every campesino knows that he can raise corn and beans, that known varieties are not destroyed by insects, that unlike tender vegetables they are not ruined by hail and rain storms, that there is always a market for the surplus and, most important, they can be dried and stored during the months of the year when nothing can be grown without irrigation.

Seventy-five percent of the families of El Jocote start feeding their children black beans and atoles, a gruel of corn meal and water, at six months of age. The average child is breast fed between twelve and eighteen months, although the period may be as short as six months and as long as two years. In the first year coffee is added to the diet and milk and cheese if they are available. Those families who keep cows have cheese or milk once a day when pastures are green and they sell any surplus to their neighbors who buy milk by the pitcher or cup. The majority can afford to buy cheese not more than once a week. In the summer season, both pasture and milk production dry up.

In the summer, fresh killed beef is rarely sold more than one day a week in Quezada and the people of El Jocote buy a quarter or a half pound on an average of once every two weeks. Pigs and chickens are ordinarily sold for cash rather than eaten. On fiesta days a young chicken may be killed and its flesh and bones chopped up in tamales to serve the entire family. No vegetables are grown commercially in El Jocote and few are raised for home consumption. Tender crops are devoured at night by the zompopo, a large leaf-eating ant. The cost of insecticides and even hydrated lime is considered prohibitive and these are available only in Jutiapa. Moreover, the ground bakes hard between rains and vegetables must be watered from cantaros carried from the river. Milk, cheese, meat, squash, cabbage, tomatoes are the supplements to corn and beans which everyone would like to eat, if they were available. Some yucca is grown and is highly prized. When a small plot of ground was cleared for a vegetable garden at the home of Gregorio Soto in 1963, the boys who helped with the work carried the yucca roots home. The garden, ravaged by zampopos and insufficiently watered failed to produce a crop. Tomatoes that were set out in 1963 were reported the next year to have been ruined by hail. However, no complaints are voiced if there is sufficient quantity of corn and beans.

All of the older people of El Jocote report that milk, cheese and meat were more plentiful during their childhood, but that beans and tortillas were the basis of every meal. Cattle were reported more plentiful fifty years ago. More land was available for grazing in the valley and the pastures along the rivers in the astillero had not been claimed for cultivation. The subsequent cultivation and erosion of wooded hills is said to further reduce the flow of water in the rivers and the amount of watered pasture.

Religion in El Jocote

When the oratorio of the Hacienda was abandoned and dismantled at the close of the nineteenth century, the founders built a new church in honor of their patroness St. Catherine. It is a simple adobe structure with a white plaster facade, located at the eastern side of the public square. The doors of the church are ordinarily locked. A priest was scheduled to hold masses in Quezada once a month, but during the period the investigator was in El Jocote his attendance was irregular. Few of the men in El Jocote reported attending church more than once a year and stated that church going is the duty of the women. The church in Quezada is in disrepair. It was estimated that $100.00 is needed for repairs but it had not been possible to raise this sum in the municipio.

A church wedding is considered too costly for the people of El Jocote, but estimates given of the cost of being married in the church are not consistent and range from $4.00 to $8.00. However, between January 1962 and August 1964 none of the civil weddings involving residents of El Jocote were followed by church weddings and by Guatemalan law church weddings must be preceded by a civil ceremony before the mayor. Adams (1956) notes that the church lacks personnel for marriages and other functions. In the minds of many El Jocotecos the church as an institution is seen as an instrument of wealth. "The poor man passes through it on the way to the grave." "The church receives, it does not give." "If there were more money, the padre would come more often." These are attitudes shared by many families. Often families are devout Catholics but cannot afford to support the church. Near the center of El Jocote, in a milpa just off the narrow dirt road that runs through the aldea , is a calvario, a rustic lean-to with adobe walls, an open front and tile roof. It contains a simple wooden cross. The decorations of colored tissue paper and flowers are maintained by the women of a few families. It is here that those in El Jocote who prefer religious observance go singly or in pairs to pray. If religious observance in El Jocote is not highly formalized, religious beliefs pervade the life of the community. Every individual invokes the name of God several times a day in his life. Every greeting, every hope for the future, every accident, illness, birth and death, all remind him of his insignificance before powers greater than he. The past and the future, yesterday and tomorrow were and will be as God wills and man cannot alter God's will.

Every house contains a tiny altar, some dusty and ill kept, others decorated daily with fresh flowers when they are available. A few homes have a small wooden cross on the ridge of the roof, some say to keep bats and spirits away. The people of El Jocote are not able to support the church in Quezada and do not feel a part of it. On the other hand, they cannot afford to be without the rational view of life which religion provides. To the question,"How many children do you want ?" many women citing poverty reply four or five. But to the question"How many will you have ?"the answer is unanimously "As many as God wills." To the majority of families, illness as well as crop failure and crop success are God's will. The future will be better or worse according to God's will. During a particularly dry spell in 1963 when crops were threatened, the figure of the patron saint of Quezada, St. Catherine, was paraded through the _milpa_ of the community in a _rogación_ or prayer for rain. Only one person within the past five years had visit either Esquipulas or Sonsonate, the two most important pilgrimage centers for Ladinos in eastern Guatemala, and the majority of those reported visiting Esquipulus could not remember the date, saying that it was long ago. However on several occasions, mention of Esquipulas elicited the story of a women whose lack of faith in miracles was punished by paralysis of her legs and "she now must cook on the ground."

Six festival days of religious origin are observed throughout the _municipio_. In El Jocote in 1963, celebration of two of these, the days of St. Peter and St. John had no religious content. The investigator was not present at other festivals but was told by Gregorio Soto and other informants that the festival of the patron saint of Quezada, St. Catherine, the Day of the Kings, and the Holy Week celebration are solemn and important occasions. On the festival days, work is suspended and there is opportunity for courtship. Of particular interest is the Easter celebration when the Passion Play is held annually in Quezada. According to José Soto parts for the performance are highly prized and are awarded in competitive try-outs. Participation is limited to those "who can read and remember their parts." José reported that in his lifetime or knowledge only two persons from El Jocote had been awarded roles.

According to those who claimed knowledge of the traditions of their parents who were _colonos_, the church in the closing days of the Hacienda and during the lives of the founders played a more important part in the lives of the people than it does today. More religious fiestas and more church weddings are remembered. Many of the second generation reported having been married in the church and are proud of the fact.

In several other communities in the Department of Jutiapa visited by the investigator, the most vigorous religious institutions are those recently founded by Protestant evangelical groups and operated by lay personnel. Between 1962 and 1964 the only Protestant missionary activity reported or observed in the Municipio of Quezada was the dropping from a light plane of Mormon leaflets announcing a free correspondence course. The plane caused excitement, but those few who professed to read said the matter was not important. One person jokingly suggested that the plane be shot down, but said no one in El Jocote owned a gun. However, one person born in El Jocote left the aldea and became a Protestant missionary, and two who left are known to have joined the Morman Church and the Central American Evangelical Church. The three are literate. In at least four other municipios of the Department of Jutiapa, Zapotitlán, Yupiltepeque , Atescatempa and Asuncion Mita, active literacy centers for adults are being conducted by evangelical groups for the purpose of learning to read the Bible.

Social Structure

In El Jocote, as in peasant communities throughout Jutiapa, the family is the basic social as well as economic unit. Small communities in the Department of Jutiapa are characterized by family names common to each locality. In El Jocote in 1963, twenty-nine family names in various combinations accounted for all one hundred twenty-one households. Twenty-five of these surnames can be traced directly to founders. The Cardonas, who accounted for the largest number of households, had linked their name in marriage with thirty-one different families since 1900. Two-thirds of these were families living in El Jocote who could trace their ancestry to a founder. The others are accounted for by Cardona females who married into families living outside the community. Although descent from both sides of the family is recognized, residence after marriage is patrilocal until the couple are able to establish residence of their own or until the father's death. Sons work on the land of the father, not the father-in-law,after marriage. The son's children work with their father,his brothers and their grandfather on the land of the father's family. Fathers are concerned with the welfare of their sons, their sons families and their unmarried daughters. Once married, the daughter and her children become the concern and primary responsibility of her husband and his father.

Relationships beyond first cousins are vague, and first cousin relationships are often grouped with all relatives of the same name. Only three of thirty-two household heads interviewed in 1962 could tell the number of their first cousins, nephews or nieces, much less their names. In the direct line of male descent family loyalties are close. Males of the family not only work together, but visiting is chiefly within the circle of the family. Women in going to the river or the mill in Quezada are far more gregarious in their social relationships. No strong bonds between families are formed by marriage, unless the relationship is strengthened by the respect of one family for the status and authority of another. Relationships between the Muñoz and Cardona households and between the Muñoz and Soto households, for example, do not appear to have been strengthened by the marriage of Muñoz sons and daughters to Cardonas and Sotos. In each case the daughter has been absorbed into the household of her husband and while the daughter and occasionally her husband will visit her parents, the marriages have not signaled increased interaction between the households. The Muñoz family has married with the Retanas as frequently as they have with the Cardonas, yet their bonds with the Retanas are stronger than with either Cardonas or Sotos. The bonds between Cardonas and Sotos are strong although no relationship by marriage exist between households in El Jocote.

The explanation of these relationships between families lies with status and spheres of influence rather than with family relationships. The head of one family expressed little respect for another family saying they are "backward and illiterate." There is little visiting between the families. The older men of the two families do not fraternize at fiestas. The Retanas who have married with both Muñoz and Cardonas and have a lower rate of literacy than either, attend the fiestas and funerals of the Muñoz family, but not the Cardonas and they reflect the Muñoz point of view on matters affecting the community.

Important in the social structure is a system of status which appears to be patterned after the relationship between the patrón and the colono. All older members of the second generation are addressed as don, but only larger landowners among the third generation are so honored. Nearly all families enjoy a similiar history of residence in the community and trace their lineage to a founder, and for this reason even the poorest takes pride in his membership in the community and enjoys this degree of social security. Although all of the fundadores presumably began their new lives of economic independence on an equal footing at the start of the century and older living members of the second generation are accorded respect, sharp differences in status have developed among the third and fourth generations and these differences are likely to be accentuated as time passes. The developing class system is based upon not only land ownership and respect for the older living members of the family, but also upon respect for wisdom and wise counsel, for being well spoken, respect for literacy and the giving of fiestas at marriage and saint days. With land ownership, wisdom, and literacy, come influence and authority. Among older people, land ownership, wisdom and being well spoken but not literacy are sufficient.

Thirty-eight percent of the adults who claim to be literate and are so honored in the community have read little or nothing since leaving school and are now illiterate. They can, however, sign their names. In the pattern of the patrón-colono relationship, the male head of the household assumes responsibility for his sons and their families by providing tillage, usually under a share cropping arrangement, and in turn receives their labor and their respect. He also decides what to plant, when and how to plant, cultivate and harvest and speaks for the family. The family head of high status will draw into his orbit of influence other households of the family and neighbors of lesser status.

Where the oldest living male of a family exercises his authority as head of the family, the status accorded him by the community is reflected upon other male members of the family. Members of the Jimenez, Muñoz and Osorio families enjoy the respect accorded Magdaleno Jimenez, Leonardo Muñoz and Leopoldo Osorio. Since respect and authority go together, the children of a father of high status are expected to be well spoken, "educated among people," and to show respect for older people. Being "well-educated among people" embraces respect, speaking well, keeping good company, neither quarreling nor getting drunk, except at funerals. Although "being well-educated among people" is thought of as upbringing rather than schooling, schooling as a mark of status is responsible for higher school attendance among high status families.

Where the senior male does not exercise authority, respect for him and the status accorded him and his family by the community are diminished. Such was reported to be the case of Rosalio Arana and members of his family. The growing senility of the older members of the Cardona family, who have long exercised authority, has produced divided authority, and respect was accorded in varying degrees to the five surviving males of the second generation and their households. The household of José Luis Cardona is accorded higher status than those of his brothers Antonio, Esteban or Bernardino. While the oldest brother, "don" Matilde, is highly respected, he was bed ridden at eighty-seven and it was assumed that Jose Luis spoke for the family.

The family structure is augmented by a system of *compadrazco* which embraces parents and godparents. Godparents are usually selected from among those of higher status than the parents and within established circles of friendship and influence. As a result, persons of higher status in the community enjoy more *comadre* or *compadre* relationships than persons of lower status, and status is reinforced by these known relationships. The investigator's principal informant, Gregorio Soto, was addressed as *compadre* by members of the Pena, Jiménez, Morales, Contreras, Osorio, and Arana families. In visiting these households, more time was spent in friendly conversation and explanation of the purposes of the visit than at other households.

Affairs which concern the community as a whole ar few: The use of the community land; the granting of rights to the use of the land; the cutting of timber; grazing; the fencing of land. If disputes over these matters of common concern arise, the lines are drawn between the head of the households and their followers. The president of the community lands, serving descendents of *fundadores* throughout the *municipio*, is Gregorio Soto. Soto's dream of building a reservoir in the community lands and setting aside land in the *astillero* for a school is opposed by two individuals from another influence group. All three are members of the second generation and enjoy high status. The Cardora,Arana, Pena, Serrano, Contreras, and Jimenez families line up solidly behind Soto. The Muñoz, Flores, Retana, Yanes, Grijalva and Hernandez families tend to side together: . Again while fathers and sons will always support the same side, fathers and daughters or brothers and sisters may find themselves on opposite sides of the argument.

One member of the community stated "the lack of union among the neighbors is traditional." Another literate, highly respected head of one family voiced the deep antagonism he harbors for the head of another family, an antagonism which has divided the community:

> I can't find a person in all these aldeas, a person that is truthfully, that isn't against his neighbors, see? I couldn't mention one here. Look I am going to tell you the truth. Almost everyone, well, God knows I'm saying nothing but the truth, and I don't want, I don't pretend to be a saint, see? But since God sees us and hears us and he is always with one, I'm going to tell you the truth. There isn't one of us here that isn't against someone else, because here we are almost the same. I'll tell you this way; he who does evil to me, see? And wants to do the same to my family and is against me and my relatives, well, because we are better off, we have a few cows, right? Well, they envy us. Then they consider all of us bad people, beaause God has helped us, because we obtained a few things. In short, we economized a little, and they don't like us...that's the way we live here...There is a person here, let him talk to most of the people in town, and many around here are with him, see? He leads the people against those a little above - not because he is good, - that man, see? He is hypocrite and selfish, hypocrite and selfish, see? Because he doesn't want anyone to have, he, he wants to have only himself. I'm going to tell you who he is, yes, I'm going to say it clearly, because this man I'm telling you about , this selfish man, in 1927 assaulted a man called R______ ______., and stole a plow and several hens from him. They captured him in 1933, when don Sabino Soto was the mayor. Then they captured him, he had bought two steers from ________ ____. and they went to register them, and the regidor at the time told them to bring them there because he couldn't register them there while the cows were someplace else. And the regidor found that the sale wasn't legal, but he would say "I bought them, I bought them," but he wouldn't say from whom. Then they captured him and put him in jail. The following night he said: "Take me out because I want to go to pray,"that was in 1933, and they took him out and he left, he didn't come back until 1946...then in that year he returned and I found him one day close to my corrals as I returned from the fields. "How are you so and so?" "How are you so and so?" "O. K. around here "and those things...............

Well, when he left, because his father didn't want to give him any land in which to put the animals he had bought with him, they captured him again and his father paid for the bail. That's why they don't like us, because they wanted to take away our land to distribute it among their friends. Here no one wants to say anything about that because they don't take anything into consideration...they don't want any problems, but they know it very well.......

Not because they saw it,.but they know it...I know them well..hah, hah, hah, and that is the truth, because I don't slander, or give false testimony to any one not even if he has done evil to me - and it isn't said in town - and not even if it hasn't been proven before the Civil Law, only before God's law. If I slander I would be condemning myself to the fire of hell and I wouldn't ever come out and I would remain as an evil spirit in eternity, because God sees everything and hears everything and all I have said is nothing but the truth.

...As I tell my brothers, "The day you go astray, don't think that because you are my brothers I am going to cover you up. Because you already know me and everyone in town knows me." And if they ask someone in town - I hope the mayor, or someone else; "Do you know L______ ____ the one who lives in Jocote? Is he a bad man?"....and I hope they can answer, he can answer: "I trust him a lot." That is why one must tell the truth. What is a shame, - as I told ________, - is that I told him to bring me a certificate of his cattle farms, because he had bought a part, he got furious and left and took twenty-seven of the men that had claimed that land, to distribute it because they had found out that ________ had won; then he appealed and the trial continued. The order from the Supreme Court of Justice came back saying that__________, that we were the owners...Oh! the things of life! What did these poor little fools do? They were put in jail, they were fined and were ignored, but since they know nothing they came in again, they were tried again, and went to jail for three months, and they are still there. They are happy! Because they like it, because the trial is not finished, they are happy, because they had them fooled saying that when you came this year you were going to bring the order, the order from the President of the United States, don...don...and with that they had them fooled, poor fools, poor things. Because of that the men who's with G________ is mixed up in that too, and he is waiting forG________ to tell her that she has no business forbidding him to come to his grandfather and his mother,because if he has gotten mixed up in it. It's because of bad conduct, that because of that he should not come. To come as he has been doing before, and because of that he should not come to see his mother and his grandfather, hah, hah, hah. Because he who goes wrong, God let's him go but doesn't forget, he has to pay. And he who does good, whereever he goes he is paid well, right? But he who behaves wrongly, he who does evil, he should wait and see; do well and

> don't do evil to others. God leaves things as they are but doesn't forget; it better for a man to be honest than dishonest. Because in that business of being dishonest one loses much.

The relationship between patron and colono assumes protection, security and a certain amount of exploitation in return for the labor and subservience of the colono. The attitude of the El Joçoteco today towards government and the patron is similiar. A good government is seen as a strong government which protects ones land or livestock and maintains peace and security. Near the border of El Salvador armed forces and pillage are reported common and the neighboring Municipio of San Jose Acatempa is feared for its cattle thieves and the violence of its men. Leonardo Muñoz thinks of the military dictators, Ubico, Armas, Ydigoras Fuentes and Peralta as stronger men than Arbenz and Arevalo and therefore better presidents. The projected social reforms of Arbenz and Arevalo were not perceived as being the proper function of the government. At the same time those few literates of higher status in El Jocote who hold opinions about national politics thought the strong president deserved special rewards and spoke not disapprovingly of reports that they had amassed fortunes.

> A president with a little more stamina (algo templadito) was General Don Jorge Ubico. Oh, that was a more energetic man. During his time...around 1929, he took the power, and around 1930, he cleaned up with all the cattle thieves, and thieves in all the walks of life from all the departments. Oh! that one was good!
>
> During that time the traders (negociantes), since there weren't carts during that time, only mules, each trip they took to the capital to sell corn, beans, rice, they had to have proper authorization from the political chief of the department, in which certification they had to specify how many beasts they were taking, and how many mules, and how many horses, what kind of articles they were carrying and their names; and this, for every time they made the trip. I don't know how much the man (Ubico) took with him; but there was a law during that time. After Arevalo everything became the same as before. There wasn't any respect.

> After Arevalo came Arbenz. You know that already, and if I didn't affiliate to the Party (Arbenz Party), they would get me out of my house and give it to those who were with Arbenz. Then, at that time, one really suffered, because one had to suffer the rule of Arbenz but good, because there was again some respect of one's property. Private properties were respected, and then came General de Ydigoras Fuentes. Things have been better up to here. Since then, even the radios are saying it now about Coronel Enrique Peralta. Ah! That's a good man; I find him to be a good man, don't you think so, too?
>
> Yes, this man, according to the news given by the radio, and what one observes, is pretty good if he doesn't change. If he keeps up the way he is going; if he keeps the respect of private properties, and that man loves his neighbor, and that one lives in peace, things look pretty good. May the Lord not permit a change, because that way one avoids another Regime, and one avoids being dispossessed of one's home; even since Castillo Armas took over from Arbenz, things have looked very nice. There, when General Ydigoras Fuentes was at the capital there were a lot of things wrong. There were injustices done to the businessmen at the capital, and even killings--as I have heard. But now, with the colonel as the head of our Republic, people say, the capital looks very pretty.
>
> He doesn't bother the farmers, you see; they are free to work, and the ones who have to serve in the Army go, but they have their pay, and their food, and their clothes during the time they serve in the Army. Yes, all that. And he doesn't go taking good working time from the farmers, and he is friends with the president of the U. S., who is a liberal. That's a good man! They two go to conference anywhere to celebrate, but the good thing, yes, the good thing through God's grace, they really go to all the meetings and all the conferences. The heads of all the Republics get together and they have meetings, and everything comes out fine. But only the good ones, only the good ones; that's the way we have to be, God first, of course, so nobody comes to take our ranches away (he laughs).

The developing upper class in El Jocote have adopted the privileges they identify with the authority of the patrón. The responsibility of leadership, with the single exception of Gregorio Soto, does not carry with it responsibility for social or community improvement or development. Leadership does permit exploitation, and aggrandizement is at the expense of one's neighbor in accumulating land rather than through superior agricultural techniques. In El Jocote wealth begets wealth. The improvident man, the drunkard, the man afflicted with sickness, unable to work and burdened with debts finds a ready buyer for his land among those who have accumulated the most land.

Status differences are not readily apparent to a casual visitor to El Jocote. Houses, furnishings, clothing and agricultural equipment appear equal for all families, and differences in diet are few. The title of don, the respect accorded the individual and the amount of land he owns, which is usually distant from his house, are the principal indices. More shoes in the family, a better horse or mule, a transistor radio, beds and children who have been to school are secondary indices.

Health and Sanitation

Manuel Soto, a cousin of Gregorio Soto is the Quezada druggist and empiricio who serves as doctor and chief medical resourse for the municipio. He states that all children and adults in the area have worms, and that most of the children in El Jocote suffer from malnutrition. Manuel Soto ascribes the condition to "ignorance and custom." He states that all efforts to bring potable water to Quezada had failed because the people, including many of the best educated in the community, believe that with the Tempisque River they are blessed with an abundant supply of water. In some Juciapa communities rivers and wells dry up in the summer and water must be brought in on mule back. In 1964 it was reported that under the mayor newly appointed by the Governor of Jutiapa, renewed efforts would be made to bring potable water to the pueblo. It is presumed that the pipes would run through El Jocote and benefit that community as well.

In the summer the Tempisque is reduced to a clear trickle, and in the winter it becomes a muddy torrent. Sudden rains after a dry spell wash through the yards and veredas of the aldea and pour their accumulated filth into the river. Throughout the course of the river women wash their clothes, bathe and draw water for the home. A few dig holes in the gravel banks of the river to fill their cantaros with filtered water, but this process is so slow that women are commonly seen to fill the cantaro partially from the filter hole and take the balance from the river. Wells are considered a convenience rather than a source of potable water, and the families in El Jocote which have wells also drink from the river and from cups or basins in the homes of their neighbors.

There are no latrines in El Jocote. Natural sewage disposal is considered superior to latrines which require expense in construction and lime if they are to be kept unobjectionable. Frequent winter rains wash away both animal and human excrement; in the summer it dries quickly. In all seasons, pigs scavenge the yards. Latrines built by the investigators in 1962 and 1963 were not used after they left the community although the family was invited to use them.

Dirt floors of the houses and corredors are swept daily, and a swept floor is not perceived unsanitary. Few adults or children wear shoes and all children first crawl on the ground and later play with the earth. Children have been observed pouring dry dirt over each others heads in play. Fathers were seen spitting on the earth to amuse their children who play with the spit balls and stuff them in their mouths. Food dropped on the ground is picked up and eaten if a chicken, dog or pig doesn't get it first.

The opportunities for personal cleanliness are greater for girls and women than for the male. A household of eight persons uses an average of twenty-seven gallons of water daily, requiring five or six trips to the river. In filling the cantaros, girls and women wade into the shallow river. They also stand in the river when washing clothes and claim to bathe more than once a week. The men's visits to the river are usually limited to a weekly bath, generally without soap. With all water for the household, including the chickens and pigs, carried from the river, children are admonished not to waste water and to wash only at the river. At mealtimes, hands are caked with mud and the tortillas which have been cooked in the morning and wrapped in a cloth are passed to the family and eaten by hand. Water and coffee are drunk from common containers, although a few homes do have cups used for guests and special occasions.

All families reported tooth decay and toothaches. Most do not own a tooth brush and rinse their mouths with water. Some families share a single tooth brush, and only three were observed to own a tooth brush for each member of the family.

Listlessness, fatigue, and younger children with swollen stomaches and spindly legs were common. These, according to Manuel Soto, are products of malnutrition and worms which exacerbate measles,whooping cough and other ailments common to children.

Of the eighteen deaths recorded for El Jocote between January 1, 1962 and September 1, 1964 twelve were children under five years. Three of these were still born, three reported to have died of "convulsions" within five days of birth, three of "intestinal fevers" and three of "bronchitis."

The nearest professional medical service or nursing care is located in the departmental capital of Jutiapa. The round trip bus fare from Quezada to Jutiapa is fifty cents, more than a campesino earns in a day when work is available. The services of the departmental clinic are free in the morning five days a week, but because of bus schedules a person whose illness is serious enough to require hospital attention must arrive in Jutiapa the

the day before. Families report spending the night on the street and waiting in line the next morning for medical attention. Few families can afford the expense and many are fearful of the experience. In 1963, Marta Cardona who was seven months pregnant with two dead fetuses spent the night on the street outside the hospital with a sick two year old child. The next morning when told by a nurse that she would have to leave the child in the hospital several days for free medical examination, observation and medication, she took the child home.

Local medical services were offered by the Quezada druggist, Manuel Soto, who has had no formal training, and by several women in Quezada who administered injections. Soto was reported to charge fifty cents for an office visit and three dollars for a home visit. There were no persons reported skilled in the use of herbs, although herbs were used in the treatment of worms and sore throats. All drugs in Quezada were sold or administered without a doctor's prescription and the price was reported to be from ten to fifty percent higher than in Jutiapa or Guatemala. The most common remedies used were aspirin, alka-seltzer, and "injections."

In July 1962, thirty-two households comprising one hundred sixty-six persons reported the following illness for the preceding year.

Colds	85 cases
Goiter	none
Worms	37 cases
"Bad" toothaches	30 cases
Eyes	28 cases
Ears	14 cases
Malnutrition	12 cases
Whooping cough	12 cases
Tuberculosis	1 case
Typhoid	4 cases
Mumps	8 cases
Measles	12 cases
Malaria	21 cases
Erysipelas	5 cases
Epilepsy	2 cases
Total	270 cases

For the same period eighteen visits to the local "doctor" and seventeen visits to the hospital in Jutiapa were reported for the one hundred sixty-six individuals. In discussing the above reported illnesses with Manuel Soto, he expressed the belief that all persons in El Jocote, as well as in Quezada, are infested with worms, all have tooth decay, and that there is more malnutrition, typhoid and tuberculosis that are not recognized. He believed that there were fewer cases of malaria than reported and that these were contracted by migrant workers who had been to the Pacific coast. He thought the majority of cases reported as malaria were fevers due to malnutrition.

Sickness is a dominant concern of the people of El Jocote. The unhappiest times of life are divided between the summer time when there are neither crops nor work, and illness. Drawings used in interviews commonly elicited responses concerning illness; the person in the picture was taking a bus to visit a sick relative or going to the hospital himself; the unhappiest times for the man in the picture are those when he is sick. The people in the picture are sick because they look sad.

Understanding the causes of illness ranged from the superstitious and primitive to relatively sophisticated.Regardless of education, every individual in El Jocote questioned by the investigator believed that an eclipse has dire effects on unborn children, causing them to be stillborn . or born with physical defects. It is believed that the affects of the eclipse can only be averted if the pregnant mother stores water from a spring eight days before the eclipse and drinks only this water eight days before and eight days following the eclipse. Furthermore, she should not bathe in the river during this period. Nearly all see illness as God's will, though those who have attended school also mentioned flies, bad water, microbes and getting wet. Other responses to a directed question on the cause of illness, which are discussed later in this report, included the thoughts of another person, the mother's blood, mother's milk, spirits, the air and from "inside a person."

The people of El Jocote are generally fatalistic about illness. Illness is feared because it reduces work, but it is accepted as a normal part of life. "Children always get sick." Unless a person is confined to his bed, he will continue to carry on with the work of the fields or the chores of the households.

Summary: The Ethos of El Jocote

The El Jocoteco, passively accepts the familiar stresses of life. He sees his life as no different from that of his father's life and his sons' lives as no different from his own. His concern for the future is the work to be done the next day, the planting, the cultivating or harvesting. Five years ago, last year, next year, or five years from now are viewed as a continuum undistinguished by past events that are dated or by future goals in time. The ages of one's children from youngest to eldest are computed by the two year intervals which are normal between children. Every man's goal is to acquire more land, own livestock have more facilidades to work. There is pride in accomplishing one's duty to provide food for the family. There is pride in the land.

A man does his best, but the answer to the success of his efforts rests with "God's will " whether he has a large or small family, crop failures or success, whether he has or lacks the facilidades to work, whether he is strong or weak, well or sick, lives or dies.

Security lies with the family and its land. Family relationships though governed by authority and respect are also marked by tenderness and love.

El Jocote is a quiet village. The most familiar sounds are those of tortilla making, donkeys braying, dogs, pigs and chickens. Children are seldom heard to cry, voices are not often raised, conversation is subdued. No person is passed without a friendly greeting and children smile readily.

Birth and death take place quietly. Children slip into the world with no surprise and little preparation, but each is loved and cared for. People die and are buried quietly the next day. There is grief, but it is restrained and dignified. With a death in the family, the mother is quietly efficient in the preparation for the all night wake and funeral, but is thoughtful and courteous of family and visitors to the home.

The women of El Jocote are not supposed to enjoy sex and confirm this after years of experience. They are taught early that men are out for no good and are not to be trusted, and again confirm the early advice from later experience. Girls are shy and modest, and men, while expected to be virile and prove their virility, also appear to be shy in the presence of women. Occasional fiestas are models of propriety. Couples dance silently and return to their own sex group after each dance. Except for music from three violins and a guitar, only the quiet murmer of occasional conversation is heard at a fiesta, and the festivities take place within the circle of an audience of parents and elders.

Physical and verbal aggression are frowned upon. Acts of violence, fighting, loud argument were seldom observed, and respondents could recount few specific acts of violence within the community. Saturday night drunkenness falls into another category, more often resulting in singing, brawling, and abuse of wives. However, sober men on the road at night are on the alert for trouble. Severe disciplining of disobedient children is expected but is swift, quiet and quickly forgotten. Sexual aggression is a constant expectation and women stay indoors at night, but only one case of sexual aggression was reported in El Jocote during three years and this was condoned. A twenty-six year old male of the Muñoz family requested the hand of a twenty-two year old female of the Cardona family, and the girl's parents agreed. However, the girl jilted her suitor who then lay in wait for her at the river and raped her. The father of the girl asked the mayor of Quezada to enforce the marriage, but the man fled the community. The day after the rape, the story had spread throughout the community and both men and women said that girls should not "toy with men."

The most violent aggression observed was in response to perceived external threat to the community land. The threat was outside the familiar patterns of stress. The community in 1963 was offered a new school under the Tri-Partite Plan in which the U. S. and Guatemalan Governments each supplied one third of the cost in engineering, materials and equipment and the local community a third of the cost in land, labor and locally available materials. In 1963, there were no unused public lands in El Jocote available for a school site and no titled lands for sale. And if a parcel of land had been offered for sale, there were no funds to buy it. A survey by a local committee headed by Gregorio Soto indicated that less than one half the households would contribute and that these contributions would average less than fifty cents. Those in favor of a school spoke of a court order to reclaim community lands that lay within the aldea. This posed a threat to families whose friends comprised a majority of the population. The plan was branded by the threatened and their friends as a plot to seize the lands of the community and therefore a threat to all. Rumors flew that the Guatemalan Government, the U. S., the communists and finally the investigators were plotting to seize their lands; that the wife of the investigator was the grand daughter of

Jose Milla y Vidaurre, the former owner of the hacienda, and was trying to reclaim the titles to the hacienda. Men gathered in small groups at night to discuss the matter. Students of the night literacy class were threatened and the night school was discontinued. Members of the school construction committee resigned. Gregorio Soto, the president of the school committee addressed the following memorandum to the mayor of Quezada and life returned to normal:

> Honorable Municipal Mayor of Quezada
> Department of Jutiapa
>
> By this means and with due respect, I come before you in order to manifest the following:
>
> That on the 29th day of July past there was held a Reunion de Vecinos of the canton of El Jocote with the purpose of speaking of the need of schools in said Canton, an agreement was reached to form a committee to propose said work before the superior authorities. In the Canton there is a high percentage of illiteracy, according to a census we find the following figures: children of fourteen years and above seventy-seven percent; among fathers ninety-two percent; and the population of this Canton is seven hundred and twenty inhabitants. There are two hundred twenty school-age children and the schools in Quezada have room for no more. Attending the meeting were the Honorable Municipal Mayor Roldolfo Medrano O., Mr. Chester Colwell, Associate Coordinator of the Tri-Partite Plan of Construction of Schools of the Governmnt of the United States, and Mr. Peter E. Tobia, Interim Chief of Education AID. Mr. Carlos Cruz, General Construction Coordinator of Schools is also interested in this work.
>
> In 1960 we thought about this work, but it had no success because the case is,Honorable Mayor, that there are some who opposed the construction of the work, and today again I along with Vecinos insist upon the construction of the school. But the same people are still there, obstructing the work plan, professing the following lies: that the school is not the main interest, rather a Communist plan is what I am preparing in this municipality, in connivance with several North Americans. And also since I am at the moment representative of Ladinos of the municipality, they have made public among the people that I have sold, for an undetermined sum of dollars, the communal land and part of the terrenos escriturados, (titled or deeded lands) because of such lies the neighborhood is alarmed, with grave danger for me and my family since from one moment to the next they might lynch me without my having done anything at all to endanger the Vecinos. At any rate, they have sown the seeds of fear, anger,

> and disagreement among the people. It is fitting to make another clarification that being a representative as I am, I have the obligation to propose the schools before the proper authorities. In the statutes which exist in the community there is an article which states the following: the representative is obligated to ask for the school for the community so that the community sons be educated. And as you know, it is the obligation of every citizen to promote works of selective benefits, this is one, and also an opportunity which is presented to us with the Tri-Partite Plan, by which means we do not intend to lose the opportunity. Therefore, Honorable Mayor, I beg you to raise this memoradum to the Honorable Departmental Governor and to follow its course to the Superior Authorities. May a careful investigation be undertaken and may all these lies become open doors to the public, and when they are cleared up may the guilty be held responsible.
>
> Yours truly,
> Gregorio Soto Menendez
> President of the Committee for the
> Construction of the School of El
> Jocote.
>
> Quezada, August, 1963

Fear of political compromise or involvement also played a part in the reaction to the school proposal. Since the October 1944 revolution, Guatemalan education has been identified with politics. Literacy programs for adults and fundamental education programs introduced under Presidents Arbenz and Arevalo between 1944 and 1954 have been thought by subsequent administrations to encourage social and political misorientation of the campesino and to give influence and authority to the teacher that challenges that of the political administrator. Teachers in Jutiapa have been disciplined by removal, assignment to less desirable posts and jailing for failure to comply with the wishes of political authority, for criticism of authority, or for "socialist" or "communist" leanings.

In March 1963 the volunteer literacy teacher in El Jocote accused an official in Quezada of a conspiracy to gain control of the property of a woman at the point of death by marrying her on her death bed. The teacher was denounced in a letter to the president of the Republic as a Communist for holding meetings (classes), in his house at night. During the discussion over the projected school in El Jocote many expressed fear of political involvement and compromise. Esteban Retana said the community would be compromised by accepting help. His brother Alejandro said it would be better for the people to build their own school of straw. Pedro Yanes stated that education and literacy are mixed up in politics and, "I don't want to get mixed up in politics." The elder members of the Muñoz family wanted "no differences with anyone." The majority of those who attended the meeting on the school would not enter the home where the meeting was held, but looked in the door and loitered under the corredor. They refused to have their names written as in attendance.

Disagreement and independence of thought are masked with the appearance of agreement and deference to authority. Confrontation and disagreeable truths are avoided to preserve amistad. "No" is seldom given for an answer and local authorities as well as outsiders often wait in vain for favorable action to follow verbal agreements and accord. While outsiders would appear to be especially vulnerable to the effort to be agreeable, local authority suffers the same deception. Efforts by Dora Chíu, director of the public school for girls in Quezada, have failed to arouse the interest of parents in the problems of the school:

> We the teachers had a meeting and agreed to invite the parents to the school. There are approximately four hundred parents. We invited them through their children in order to have a session to create an association of parents. But of those four hundred parents, only two men and two ladies came. We couldn't do anything. Then we want to see the mayor, so he would invite them in his name to the session we were going to have. The same people came again.

The Jutiapa agricultural extension agent, Antonio Garcia, and the Quezada representative for the Tabacalera Nacional, Eduardo Sandoval, reported in 1963 ready agreement to proposals to form agricultural clubs (4-S), and to plant experimental plots of tobacco and corn, but beyond verbal acquiescence, no interest or cooperation developed. Sandoval lamented, "People here never come when they say they will." If pressed, the explanations were the same: a cow to be taken to pasture, sickness in the family, work in the milpa.

The El Jocotecos seldom make demands upon another that do not in fact produce agreement or action. The patterns of cooperation are well established and understood; the rights to the community lands and their use are codified and agreed upon; the use of another's oxen or mule, work in another's fields are repaid either in kind, land use, the sharing of harvest, or in cash. The arrangements are usually between households of the same family, compadres, or within human spheres of influence, whichever relationships are the strongest or least strained. If a house lacks flowers for its altar they will be gathered not in the yard of the nearest neighbor but in the garden of the household with whom relationships are strong. Those who attend wakes and funerals follow the same pattern as do the selection of males to accompany the father on a matrimonial mission to the parents of his son's novia. When Alejandro Cardona was killed in 1964 by a bolt of lightning, members of the Muñoz and Retana families did not attend the wake although Alejandro's widow is the daughter of Cristobal Muños and the sister of Alejandro Retana's wife.

Efforts to bring the people of El Jocote together on new ventures, outside the familiar patterns of cooperation have met with no success, although to the knowledge of the investigator only Gregorio Soto, son of a founder and president of the community lands has attempted to introduce changes in the community. Soto has never been able to bring his idea for potable water and a plan for irrigation in the summer to the point of discussion. In El Jocote, custom and consensus are synonymous, With this Gregorio Soto agrees. Change and improvement, he says, can only come through force.

Innovation and change are no more encouraged for the individual than for the community. Family life and the family are work centered, not child centered. The child is rewarded by becoming a man in the accepted pattern of a man's work, and a man finds reward in his work. There are no rewards or incentives for creativity or variations in the existing pattern of life and thought. Homes and furnishings are of crude workmanship and undecorated. Clothing is everywhere the same. There are no skills or crafts. Adobe blocks and roof tiles constitute one of two semi-skilled activities. If a chair cannot be purchased, a log is used in the aldea and the man who makes adobe would rather farm the land. A carpenter in El Jocote had no market for his skills and could not afford to buy a plane.

There are no sharp distinctions between the landless and the landed; houses, furnishings, clothes, methods of cooking and tilling the soil are the same. Major differences are a few more dishes and pots, a better bed, more land and livestock. There are no great climbs to success or demands for such. Isolation has discouraged unhappy comparisons. Throughout the municipio and the Department of Jutiapa, the life of the campesino is the same and few elect to leave this way of life: the land, the milpa, the security of the family and the sameness of life. If the purpose of education is seen as enabling one to secure other means of employment, few of the educated have sought the change.

For men happiness is security: the security of land and work, the security of the home, the security of having a father. The hardest times for a man are when he has no father; the happiest times were with one's father. Role and status of the male are closely related to whether his father is living or dead. Gregorio Soto and Juan Flores are men of authority and decision and feel the responsibility of being heads of families. Isabel and Carmelo Cardona, who are about the same age as Soto and Flores have fathers living, and are "humilde," deferential and dependent upon their fathers, Jose Luis and Antonio Cardona. Two others of similiar age, Pedro Serrano and Florenzio Serrano, cousins, are both illegitimate children left an inheritance by their mothers and not recognized by their fathers. Both are men of authority and independent action; renting and planting land, educating their children as they see fit and accountable to no one but the accepted custom and traditions of the community. For married women happiness is nostalgic, the years of youth with their parents before marriage before they raised children and faced the daily chore of motherhood in El Jocote. For the younger women happiness is a fiesta, where there is dancing and music and opportunity to look at boys. Women young and old concede that a good man is a good worker, one who can provide corn and beans for his family, and as the women grow older happiness becomes this kind of security.

Only two men have ever asked the Government for help, and one with twenty-two manzanas of land and four cows as security received a loan. Most of the people of El Jocote have never thought of asking the Government for help, and when asked about the function of government, say that the government is like a father: it protects, controls, gives advice, deserves respect, and must be strong.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER III

1. Sixth Census (1950). Results of the April 26,1964 Census were not available for use in this report.

2. Interviews woth Rosalio Arana, Leonardo Munoz ard Gregorio Soto, sons of former colonos on the Hacienda of Quezada.

3. The information was obtained from a file entitled "Neighbors of Quezada's Hacienda, Jutiapa, 1890," in the Sección de Tierras, Guatemala City, and from the original hand-written government decree dated October 14, 1890, signed by M. T. Barillas, president. The latter document is carefully guarded in Quezada. The investigators were permitted to read and photograph the document and the maps of the Hacienda only after persistent inquiry and under conditions of secrecy.

4. The names of those who participated in the land division were obtained from residents of El Jocote and Quezada and from the Registro Inmuebles, Guatemala; Finca 124 and 936 in various folios between 1895 and 1899.

5. According to the presidental decree of Ocotber 14, 1890, Salvador Quezada (also spelled Quesada) was the engineer appointed by President Barillas to survey the Hacienda and not an owner of the Hacienda. Reference to the "deeds of the haciendas of José and Catarina Quezada, taken from the twenty-eight log books upon request of don Pedro Vidaurre, who is following orders of the president and Captain General of the Kingdom and authorized by the clerk of the Court of Justice and Department of Interior don Bartolme Torsi, 1802," is contained in a certificate by Notary Public Arriola dated 1890, and in folios 465, 467, 468, Sección de Tierras.

6. Registro Civil, Quezada. Records include births and deaths recorded between January 1, 1962 and September 1, 1964, with the months of November, December 1962 and January 1963 missing. Birth and death rates are computed on the basis of 29 months.

7. When the investigators first visited Quezada, the mayor and the director of the public school estimated the number of dwellings in El Jocote at between 35 and 40. Malaria control had numbered houses up to 108. The number of homes reported by the local census taker in April 1964 was 105. The mapping of the community by the investigators revealed 121 dwellings.

8. All data on literacy and education was obtained from records of enrollment of the Quezada school, and literacy testing described in Chapter II.

9. Under the "Tripartite Plan," the Guatemalan and U. S. Governments each contributed a third of the cost of construcing a school while the local community agreed to pay a third of the cost in local labor, land, sand, gravel, etc.

10. The problem of introducing Turkish tobacco was related by Eduardo Sandoval, representative of the Tabacalera Nacional. In 1964, Gregorio Soto started a seed bed of Turkish tobacco.

IV. FOUR FAMILIES

Of the twenty-nine family names in El Jocote in 1963, twenty-five were those of founders and accounted for one hundred and fifteen of the one hundred and twenty-one households in the community. All of the population, however, claimed lineage from a founder and nearly all could claim descent from two or more founders. The living descendents of Dionicio Cardona, Ceferino Muñoz, Irene Retana and Bonifacio Soto, all of whom participated in the division of the Hacienda, numbered approximately seven hundred and eighty in 1963, of whom a quarter lived in the *pueblo* of Quezada and one-half in El Jocote. Of the remainder, about half lived in other communities of the municipality of Quezada and one-half left the area.

The Cardona Family

Dionicio Cardona was one of ten founders who was not a *colono* on the Hacienda but was allowed to buy one of the plots which remained after the assignment of land to the *colonos.* Several of Dionicio Cardona's relatives were *colonos*. He came from nearby Trapachitos in 1897 at the age of forty-four with a wife and eight children. His ninth and tenth children were born within the next three years. In 1899 he was granted title to thirteen *manzanas* bordering the *astillero* in what is now the *aldea* of El Jocote. Of the one hundred and thirty *parcelas* or lots distributed, Cardona's was among the least desirable. Used for grazing during the time of the Hacienda, the land was fertile, but unlike the land in the bottom of the valley, little of it was level. With its protective cover of pasture plowed under and planted to *milpa*, topsoil was soon washed away and deep gullies formed. The Cardona family in 1900 raised corn, beans, rice and cattle. Production beyond the needs of the family was taken to Guatemala, a four day journey by mule, or to the city of Jutiapa. Unlike the majority of the founders who established their homes in the town of Quezada, Dionicio Cardona built a bajareque house on his land about two kilometers from the pueblo. Still standing in 1963, the one room house with mud walls and dirt floors was occupied by his youngest son Antonio, sixty-nine. Both Dionicio and his wife were illiterate. None of his ten children were sent to school in Quezada newly built by the founders and staffed by teachers paid by the parents of the students.

Before 1900 two of Dionicio Cardona's children started their own families. The oldest daughter, Gertrudis, married into the Hernandez family, moved to the Quezada home of her husband and raised fifteen children of whom thirteen survived. Matilde, the oldest son, married the daughter of a founder, Transito Serrano, and settled down on his father's land to raise nine children. By 1912, sons Esteban and José Luis brought wives to the household, and within another ten years Bernardino and Antonio were married and living on the Cardona land.

When Dionicio Cardona died in 1943 at the age of ninety, his household consisted of five male children and their wives, thirty-five grandchildren and twelve great-grandchildren, a total of sixty-three persons dependent upon his land which he had increased to twenty-three manzanas. Matilde, the oldest of Dionicio's five sons was sixty-six and Antonio, the youngest, was forty-eight when their father died, yet none of the sons was independent of the father until his death. Each maintained his home on the land of the father. Each looked to Dionicio as the head of the household and each taught his children to place the palms of their hands together when greeting their grandfather. Until 1943, only three of the sixty-three members of the Cardona family had been sent to school.

Dionicio Cardona bequeathed four manzanas to each of his five sons and divided the remaining three manzanas among three surviving daughters. All five sons were living in 1963, each now the head of his own household. Their ages ranged from sixty-nine to eighty-six. In the twenty years since their father's death, they had increased their joint land ownership from twenty-three to fifty-three manzanas. Through purchase and his wife's inheritance Matilde added twenty-six manzanas to the four inherited from his father, but in 1963 there were fifty-five persons dependent upon this land much of which was poor quality pasture. Three of his children who had left the community and were not dependent upon the land would share the inheritance. Esteban owned six manzanas in 1963 and had fifty-one descendents of whom forty were dependent upon his land. Bernadino had six manzanas and twenty dependents, José Luis seven manzanas and forty-seven descendents of whom thirteen were dependent, and Antonio four manzanas and sixteen descendents, all dependent.

Land ownership in the Cardona family declined from 1.9 manzanas for every dependent in the first generation to .37 in 1963. The older Cardonas say that the land is "ruined" and produces less each year. The children and grandchildren of Matilde, Esteban, Antonio and Bernadino Cardona farm as much land in the astillero as they do titled land of their fathers. Only José Luis and his dependents derive their subsistence solely from his titled land.

In 1963, twenty years after his death, Dionicio Cardona, the founder, was survived by five sons, three daughters and four hundred and two grandchildren and great-grandchildren, or a total of four hundred and ten individuals. Of these one hundred and fifty-six lived in El Jocote and were dependent upon the Cardona land and the community land. These comprise the male line: Dionicio's sons and grandsons, their wives, and any unmarried daughters. Sixty-two descendents not dependent upon Cardona land also live in the aldea. Living in Quezada are one hundred and thirty-four descendents of Dionicio's daughter Gertrudis. The balance now live in other rural communities.

Illiteracy was 100 percent in first and second generations, 84.8 percent in the third, and rose to 88.8 percent in the fourth generation.

The Muñoz Family

Ceferino Muñoz was born on the Hacienda of Quezada about 1850. His father came from the departmental capital of Jutiapa to work as a *colono* on the Hacienda. There is no record of other members of the Muñoz family living on the Hacienda or participating in the land division. According to Ceferino's sons Leonardo and Cristobal, their father was sent to Jutiapa to be educated. The number of years is not known but it is said that "he could read a little." Ceferino Muñoz married Perfecta Cruz, daughter of a *colono* who had also been taught to "read a little." Four of their children were born before Ceferino became a landowner. As a *colono* Ceferino worked in the sugar mill and occasionally drove mules laden with sugar to Guatemala. According to his sons, Ceferino received a daily wage of 1½ *reals* a homesite and tillage for his family. To his initial allotment of thirteen *manzanas* Ceferino added two more. The major part of his land embraced the tillage granted him as a *colono* and was located in what is now El Jocote, about ½ kilometer from the *pueblo*. The balance of his land lay in the flat bottom of the valley of Quezada. His home, now owned by his son Cristobal, is a rectangular *bajareque* structure containing three rooms with dirt floors, a tile roof and a *corredor* running the length of the building. Ceferino Muñoz raised corn, beans, rice and potatoes which he sold in Jutiapa and Guatemala. He sent his four oldest children to the new school in Quezada and helped pay the salary of the teachers. A few years after his death in 1905 at the age of fifty-five, his youngest son Margarito, was sent to school for a year. Three children died before school age. Leonardo, the eldest, had five years of schooling and completed third grade. Francisco, Cristobal and

Narcisa each had two years of school.

Ceferino divided his land equally among Leonardo, Francisco, Cristobal, Margarito, and his daughter Narcisa. At the time of Ceferino's death Leonardo was seventeen years old, unmarried, a land owner, and the oldest male of the household, an unusual position of authority for so young a man. Leonardo reported that he went to the capital at least once a month, taking to market not only the produce of the household, but also buying corn and beans from others in the municipio and reselling them in Guatemala City. Leonardo Muñoz did not marry until he was twenty-five years old. He had eight children, one of whom, Pedro Serrano, is illegitimate and unrecognized. All of his five legitimate sons died. In the male family line, there is a close attachment between Leonardo and his nephew Juan Flores. Leonardo has two daughters, Reyes who lives with him and has raised her seven illegitimate children in his home and Victoria who lives with her husband in Quezada. Leonardo Muñoz was active in trading and farming until 1954 when his left leg was amputated in a Guatemala City hospital following an illness which he described as rheumatism. By that time, he had increased his land ownership from the three manzanas inherited from his father to sixteen and one-half manzanas, most of which is located in the good bottom land of the valley. Still the head of his household and regarded as titular head of the Muñoz family, his land is farmed by his grandsons, his sons-in-law and his nephew Juan Flores. While only one of Leonardo's two daughters was sent to school, all of his grandchildren over seven years of age have attended school and this has been at the grandfather's insistence. Leonardo's illegitimate son, Pedro Serrano, was raised by his mother and is illiterate. However, Pedro Serrano sent eight of his nine children to school and his daughter Berta is one of five in El Jocote since 1957 who have completed all six grades in the

Quezada school.

The sister, Narcisa, was the first of Ceferino's children to establish a second generation household on the family land. She married Frederico Flores, a literate man from Antigua, Guatemala, and bore three sons and a daughter to whom she left her land when she died about 1930. Three of her children left the *aldea*, one to become a Protestant missionary. The fourth and eldest, Juan Flores Muñoz, stayed in El Jocote and raised twelve children in the house of his mother within a few hundred feet of his uncle Leonardo who having lost all of his own five sons came to regard Juan as his own son. Juan Flores is the head of his own household and has become the most substantial land owner among the third generation in El Jocote, having added sixteen *manzanas* by purchase to the two and one-half *manzanas* left him by his mother. Both Juan Flores and his wife attended school for two years but no longer can read and write. However, nine of his ten children of school age, have gone to school.

Francisco Muñoz, who was seventy-four in 1963, had seven children, five of whom were daughters who lived with their husbands. Two sons, one with a family, live on Francisco's land. Two of his five daughters were sent to school but neither son. He has increased his land holdings to five and one-half *manzanas* on which nine persons are dependent.

Cristobal and Margarito Muñoz in 1963 lived on the land inherited from their father. Cristobal, who was seventy-two in 1963, had four married daughters, no sons, and lived alone with his wife. All of his daughters attended school. He gave one *manzana* to a daughter and farmed the remaining two. Margarito, the youngest at sixty-one, had five unmarried sons all over thirty years old, only one of whom had been sent to school. All work on the father's land which had been increased by one *manzana*.

Ceferino Muñoz, the founder, is survived by four sons, twenty-two grandchildren and one hundred and fifty-nine great-grandchildren, a total of one hundred and eighty-five living descendents. Land ownership in the Muñoz family declined from 1.5 *manzanas* for each dependent in the first generation to 1.0 *manzana* in 1963.

The Soto Family

Bonifacio Soto was born in 1852 in the Department of Santa Rosa where he learned to read and write. His father, Cipriano Soto, brought Bonifacio and his two brothers to the Hacienda to work as *colonos* in 1866. Cipriano Soto died of cholera shortly after the family's arrival. His sons rose to positions of responsibility on the Hacienda. Bonifacio became keeper of the corral where he tied and coupled wild steers brought in from the range. Twenty years after their arrival at the Hacienda the Soto brothers played an important part in the division of the Hacienda and the establishment of the new *pueblo* of Quezada. Atanacio Soto, brother of Bonifacio, is reported as one of three *colonos* who on behalf of his neighbors journeyed to Guatemala in 1887 to ask the government for assistance in the purchase and protection of the property. Bonifacio became one of the first mayors of Quezada and later, in 1906, was commissioned a captain in the Guatemalan Army. Ten Sotos including Bonifacio's sons by his first wife are listed as participating in the land division.

When Bonifacio Soto received title to his land in 1898, his two sons by his first wife were grown men. His second wife died leaving him childless. In 1894 at forty-two, he married for the third time. With the division of land Bonifacio, later mayor of Quezada, received a plot of land in the *pueblo* for a house site. However, since he continued working with cattle he decided to live on his newly acquired thirteen *manzanas* which bordered the *pueblo* on the west. Here at the age of forty-five he started raising a family with his third wife.

He built an adobe house with a tile roof and a dirt floor, occupied in 1963 by his son Gregorio. He acquired an additional eleven manzanas of land. He and his brothers are reported to have owned eighty head of cattle. During the early days of the pueblo, he, together with the other founders, was active in the planning and construction of the new community: the paving of the streets of Quezada with cobblestones, the building of a church, a school, and offices for the mayor and local military commander. The founders made their own adobe and tiles for the roofs and floors. They brought lumber from the astillero and sawed it by hand. A committee for administration of the community lands was established, and under Soto the original plan for communal use of the sugar mill of the Hacienda was abandoned and the machinery sold to General Pedro Barillas.

Bonifacio Soto had five sons by his third wife. The eldest, Encarnación, did not receive an education. Each of the others was sent to school in the pueblo; Andres for two years, Gregorio and Julián for three years and Antonio for six years. In 1924 at the age of eighteen Antonio left the municipio to seek his fortune and was employed by the Cotton Association. Julián left the community six years later at the age of twenty-seven to become a merchant in Retaleleu. Gregorio left home in 1931 at the age of eighteen to join the army, returned home after two years, but left again in 1936 to go to Puerto Barrios where he worked with the United Fruit Company for five years. Encarnación died in 1937. Only Andres was then left at home to help the aged Bonifacio. With the father's death in 1942 at the age of ninety, Gregorio went back to El Jocote to settle down and manage the estate left by his father. Bonifacio had divided his land unequally among his four sons: the largest portion was left to Julián who subsequently sold the land to Gregorio. Andres, who had never left home and who had inherited only two manzanas, and Gregorio, who now owned seventeen manzanas, remained in El Jocote. Gregorio later purchased an additional five manzanas, bringing his holdings to twenty-two manzanas, making him the largest titled land holder in El Jocote.

Gregorio, fifty-one in 1963, had five children ranging in age from four to twenty-two. The two eldest, twenty-two and seventeen, completed four years of school and Jacobo six years. Gregorio raised cattle, corn, beans and tobacco. According to Gregorio, "We still work with oxen and plant the same way they used to when they started Quezada's Hacienda...and very, very little have we changed those customs since." However, Gregorio bought a Jersey cow, experimented with hybrid chickens, planted hybrid corn and bought a pump to irrigate a small field in the summer. He also carried on the family tradition of service to the community, serving as President of the Community Lands and undertaking in 1962 to teach a night literacy class in El Jocote as an unpaid volunteer. He was the only person in El Jocote with a library, a dozen bound volumes and a collection of second-hand periodicals housed in a crudely made bookcase with a sign "For the Use of the People of El Jocote."

Andres, sixty-three in 1963, had nine children including one unrecognized illegitimate child. None were sent to school and seven left the municipio, including a daughter who cooked for an American family in Guatemala City and went to stay in the United States with them.

Bonifacio Soto, the founder, is survived by four sons and fifty-four grandchildren and great-grandchildren, a total of fifty-eight descendents. Only thirteen remain in El Jocote.

The Retana Family

Little is known about Irene Retana, a colono who shared in the division of the Hacienda. None of his three sons are living and his grandchildren can provide no information about him. Moreover little is remembered about his sons, José Maria, Victoriano and Ricardo, by their children. Neither Irene nor his sons attended school and all were illiterate. While the grandchildren claim that the three sons each participated in the land division, there is only record of Irene's land ownership. Irene died in 1911 at sixty-four leaving to each of his sons equal shares of his thirteen manzanas.

It is established that José Maria sold his land, moved to the astillero and left nothing to his five children of whom two sons left the aldea when young. One son, Raymundo, and two daughters married and reside in the aldea. José Maria died in 1960 at the age of ninety-six.

Ricardo died in 1928 when his eldest child, Victoria, was fourteen and his youngest and eighth child was less than a year old. He left four manzanas to his widow which in time were divided among her four sons. Victoria related that her father had been ill as long as she could remember and that her mother and sisters, all of whom were older than the boys in the family, helped him with the planting and harvesting of the corn and beans. When Ricardo died, the oldest son, Adelberto was ten years old and the females in the family continued to work the land. Two of the daughters received an education, Victoria completing the fourth grade and Juana the third. Ricardo is survived by eight children, forty-six grandchildren and thirty great-grandchildren.

Victoriano died at forty-three leaving eighteen manzanas of land. His widow sold a third of the land and left the balance to the six children, four of whom sold their inheritance. Two of his children had no family. A daughter, Macaria did not marry but bore six children by four different men and remains in the aldea. Two children moved to the community lands. Rufino and Apolonio who kept their inheritance, maintain households in El Jocote. Of the twenty-two children and grandchildren of Victoriano, only three children of Rufino have been sent to school.

Irene Retana, the founder, is survived by one hundred and thirty known grandchildren and great-grandchildren of whom one hundred and twenty-eight live in El Jocote. The whereabouts and number of descendents of two grandsons are unknown to the family. Land ownership in the Retana family has declined from 2.6 manzanas per dependent in the first generation to .14 in 1963.

Summary (Four Families)

Although each of the four founders owned an equal amount of land in 1900 and were presumably on equal footing, the legacy of each was quite different. While Dionicio Cardona and Irene Retana were simple tillers of the soil, both Ceferino Muñoz and Bonifacio Soto had positions of some responsibility under the Hacienda, both traveled to Guatemala City and Jutiapa, and both were literate. Moreover, after the division of the Hacienda, Caferino Muñoz became the head of the local military post in Quezada and Bonifacio Soto the first mayor. Both were more widely traveled, enjoyed a broader variety of experience and higher status than either Irene Retana or Dionicio Cardona. Three of Bonifacio's sons left El Jocote during the life of the father and Gregorio reported they were encouraged to do so by their father. All the four founders however, were men who had embarked upon a new and independent life. No longer were they dependent upon tillage. No longer would there be a patrón to regulate their lives and land and offer protection and security.

Perhaps the two most important influences in the lives of the children of the four founders were (1) the tenure of parental authority and (2) the birth and mortality rates of siblings and/or their départure from the area. Leonardo, the eldest son of Ceferino Muñoz, was eighteen when his father died. He was left an inheritance and was free to make his own decisions. Matilde, eldest son of Dionicio Cardona, was subject to parental authority until he was sixty-six. When the father died, the youngest of his sons was forty-eight years old, and even this son, Antonio, recalls that life was happier when his father was alive because he had fewer responsibilities and life was "more secure with a father." The span of life for Irene Retana and for two sons of the second generation was short. Wives were widowed when their children were small. There were no grown males to work the land, or make decisions. For the third Retana generation there was independence but little inheritance and no education. Andres and Gregorio Soto were forty-one and twenty-nine years old when Bonifacio Soto died. Andres, who had lived and worked with his father retained in 1963 only the two manzanas of land bequeathed to him. Gregorio, who had spent seven years outside the community, added seventeen manzanas to his inheritance of five.

Dionicio Cardona's five sons and three of his daughters survived him and shared his inheritance. Only two of his children died without a family. The eight surviving children each produced large families. In the Munoz family, two of Ceferino's sons and a daughter died before marriage. Among the second generation, Leonardo Muñoz lost all five of his sons, Cristobal had only daughters, three of Narcisa's children left the community and none of Margarito's sons married. While the amount of land owned by the members of these two families who remained in El Jocote was about the same in 1963, there were far more Cardonas dependent upon the land. One of Bonifacio Soto's sons predeceased him, and his inheritance was left to four children two of whom left the community. All but two of the descendents of Irene Retana remained in the community and most of these depend upon the community lands for their existence.

CHART IV

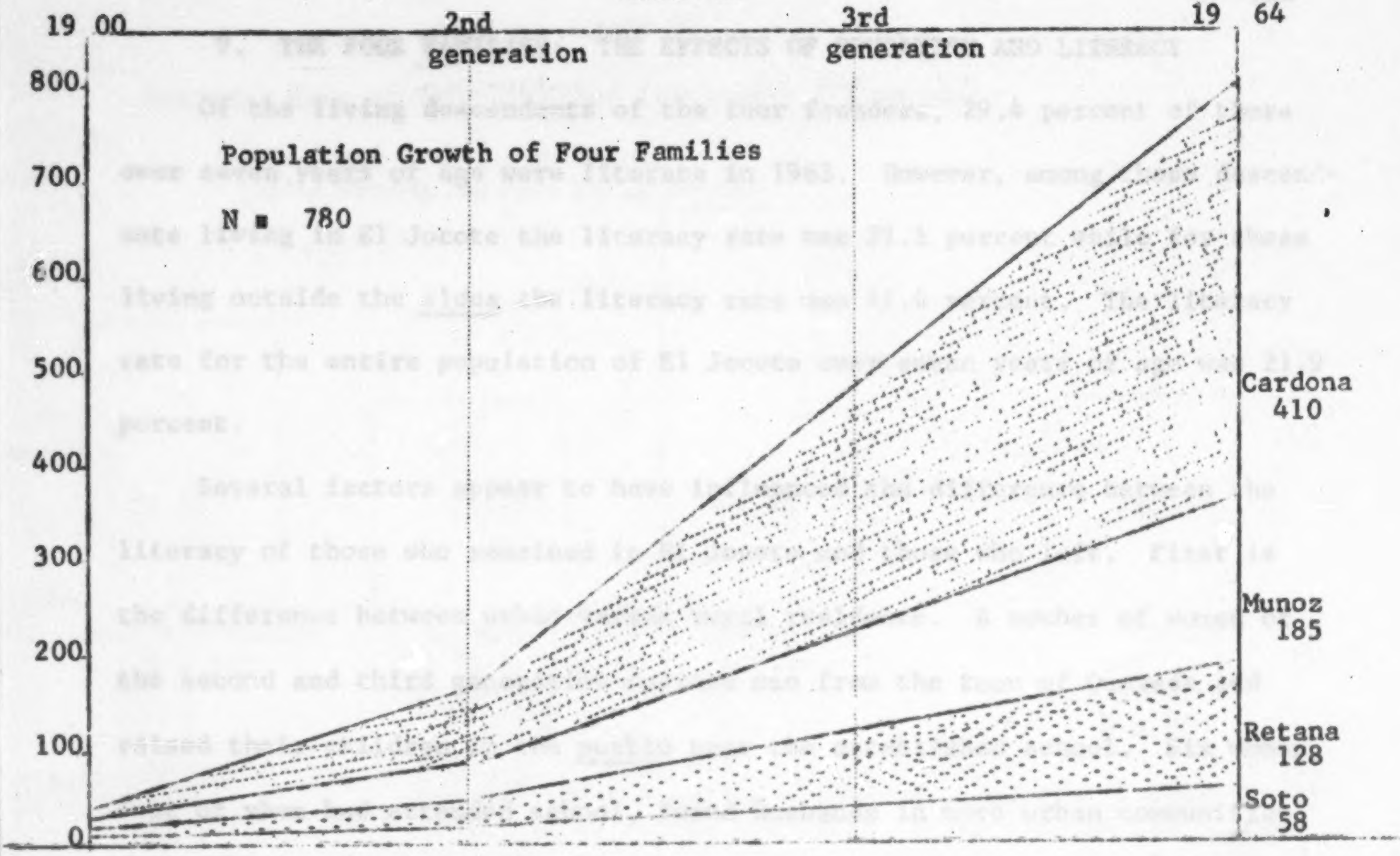
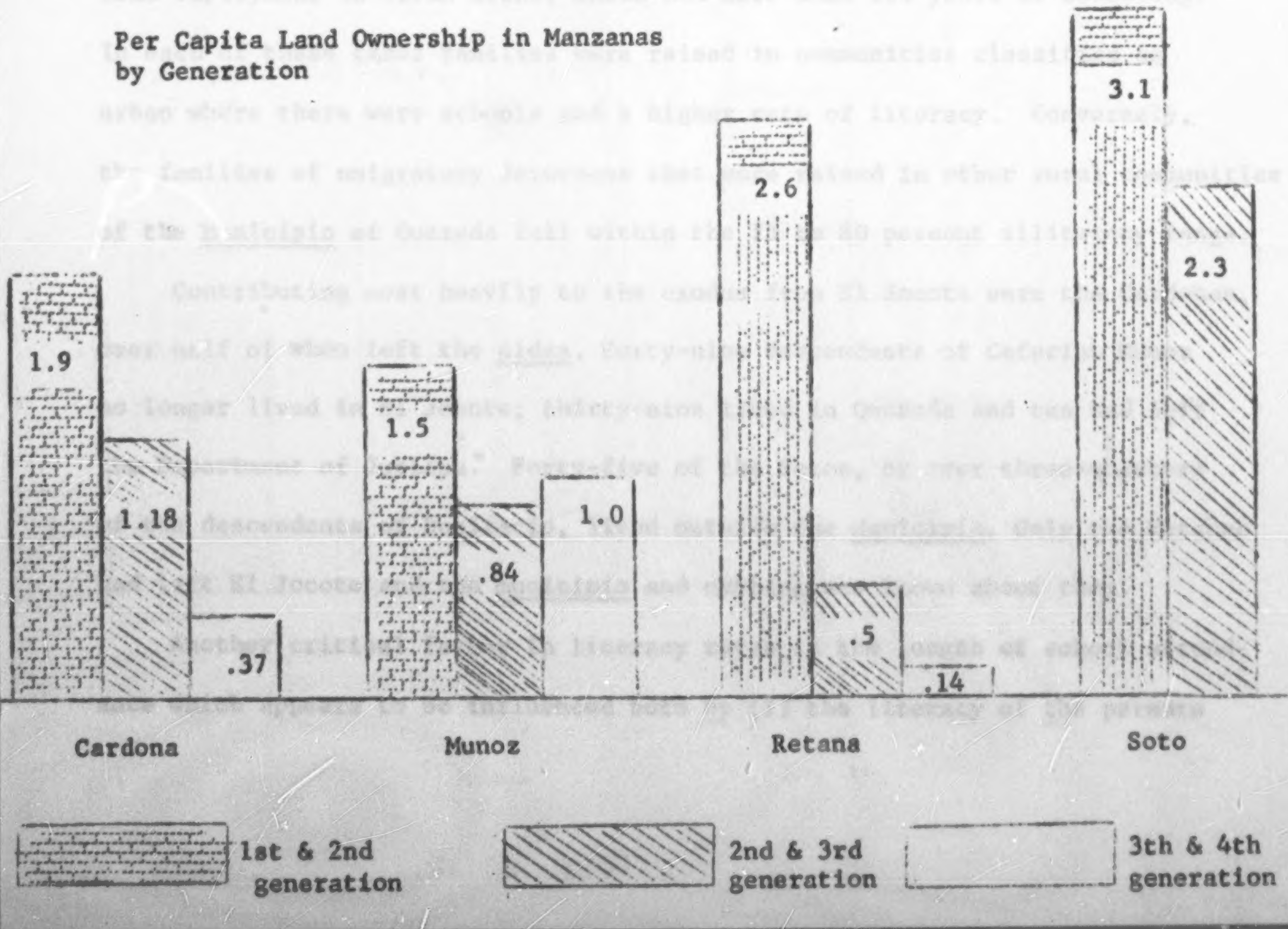


CHART V



V. THE FOUR FAMILIES: THE EFFECTS OF EDUCATION AND LITERACY

Of the living descendents of the four founders, 29.4 percent of those over seven years of age were literate in 1963. However, among those descendents living in El Jocote the literacy rate was 21.1 percent while for those living outside the *aldea* the literacy rate was 41.4 percent. The literacy rate for the entire population of El Jocote over seven years of age was 21.9 percent.

Several factors appear to have influenced the difference between the literacy of those who remained in El Jocote and those who left. First is the difference between urban versus rural residence. A number of women of the second and third generation married men from the town of Quezada and raised their children in the *pueblo* near the established school. Six women, four of whom had attended school, found husbands in more urban communities of Guatemala, Jutiapa, Zacapa, etc. Among five males who left El Jocote to find employment in urban areas, three had more than two years of schooling. In each of these cases families were raised in communities classified as urban where there were schools and a higher rate of literacy. Conversely, the families of emigratory Jocotecos that were raised in other rural communities of the *Municipio* of Quezada fall within the 75 to 80 percent illiteracy range.

Contributing most heavily to the exodus from El Jocote were the Cardonas, over half of whom left the *aldea*. Forty-nine descendents of Ceferino Munoz no longer lived in El Jocote; thirty-nine lived in Quezada and ten had left the Department of Jutiapa. Forty-five of the Sotos, or over three-quarters of the descendents of Bonifacio, lived outside the *municipio*. Only two Retanas had left El Jocote and the *municipio* and nothing was known about them.

Another critical factor in literacy rates is the length of school attendance which appears to be influenced both by (1) the literacy of the parents

CHART VI

Literacy Rate of Four Families (combined) 7 plus years

Those who live in El Jocote
Those living outside of El Jocote

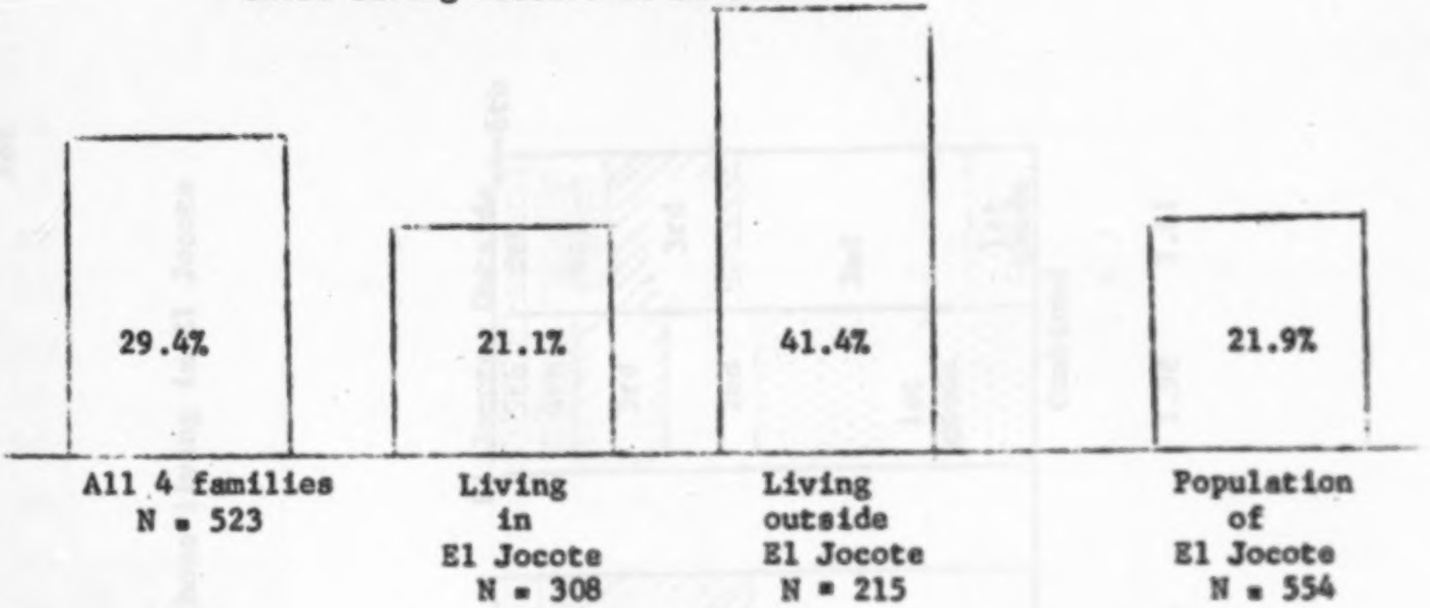


CHART VII

Literacy of 4 Families - those descendents (7 plus years) living in El Jocote and those living outside the aldea.
N = 523

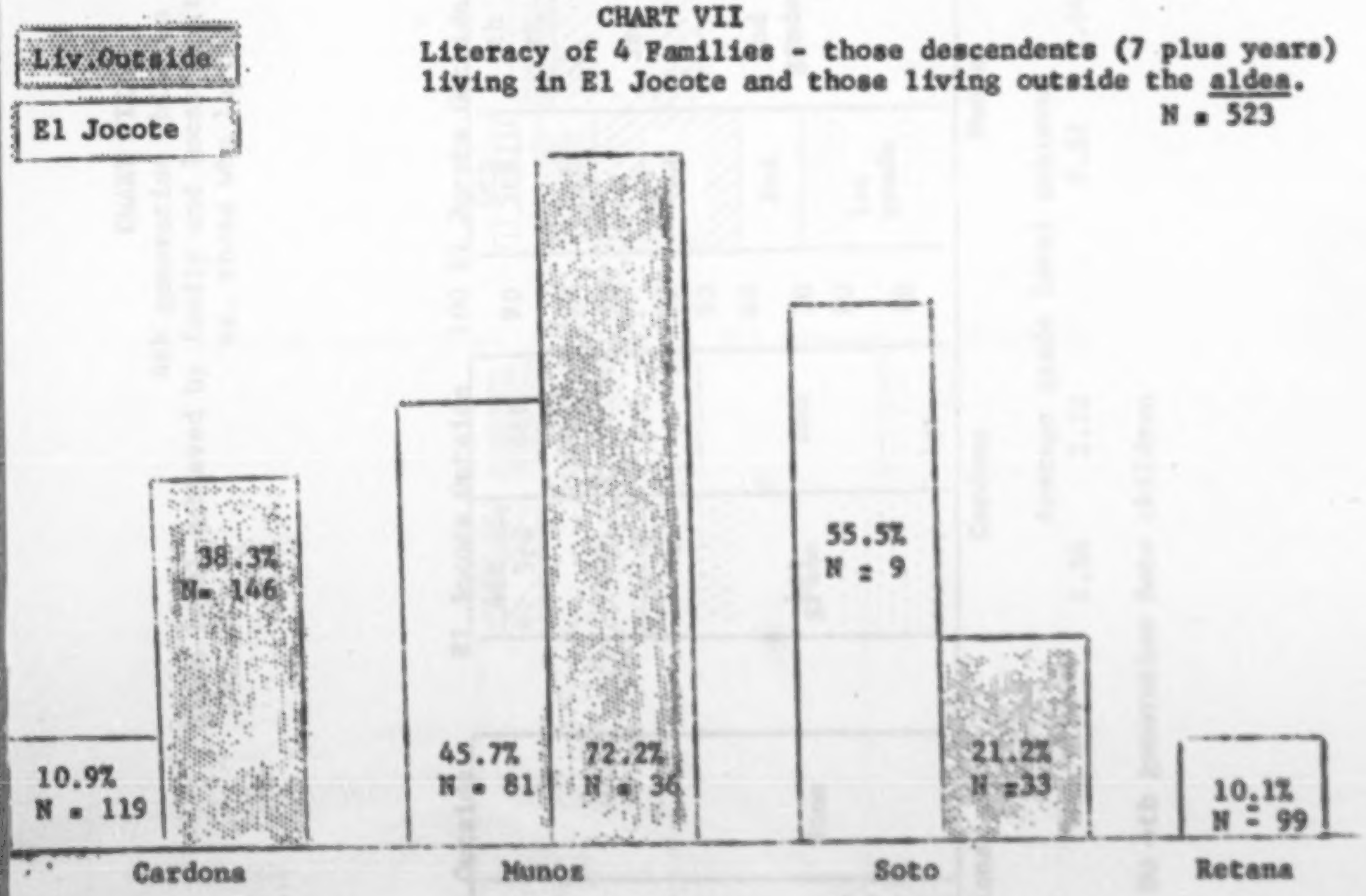
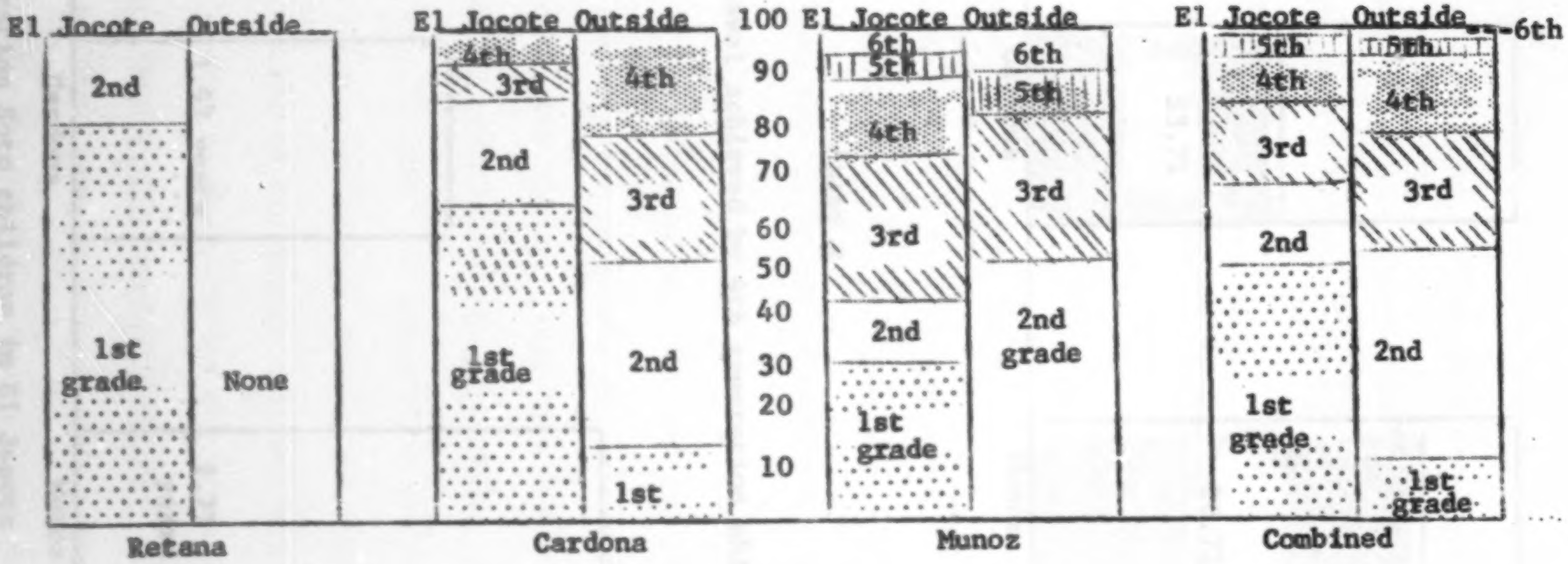


CHART VIII
4th generation children
Grade level achieved by family and location (those living in El Jocote vs. those who left)



Average grade level achieved

1.18 1.54 2.52 2.32 2.84 1.98 2.61

NOTE: No 4th generation Soto children

CHART IX

4th generation children
School attendance by family

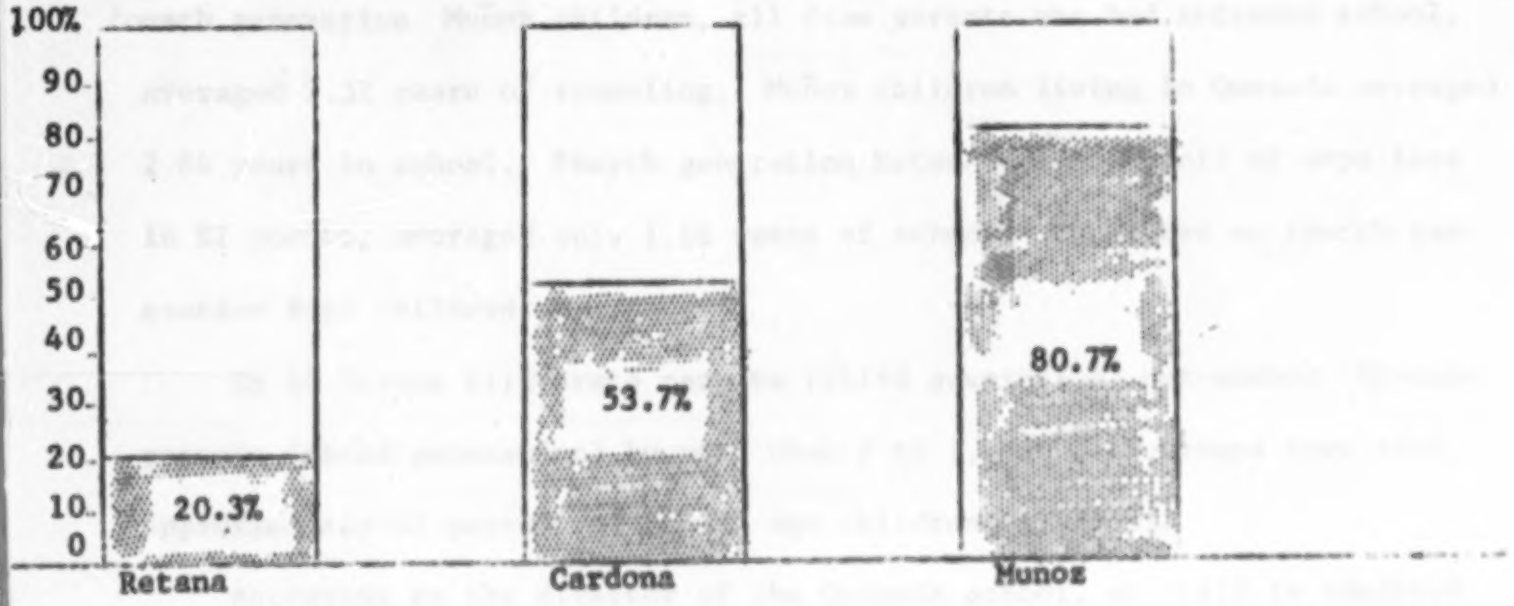
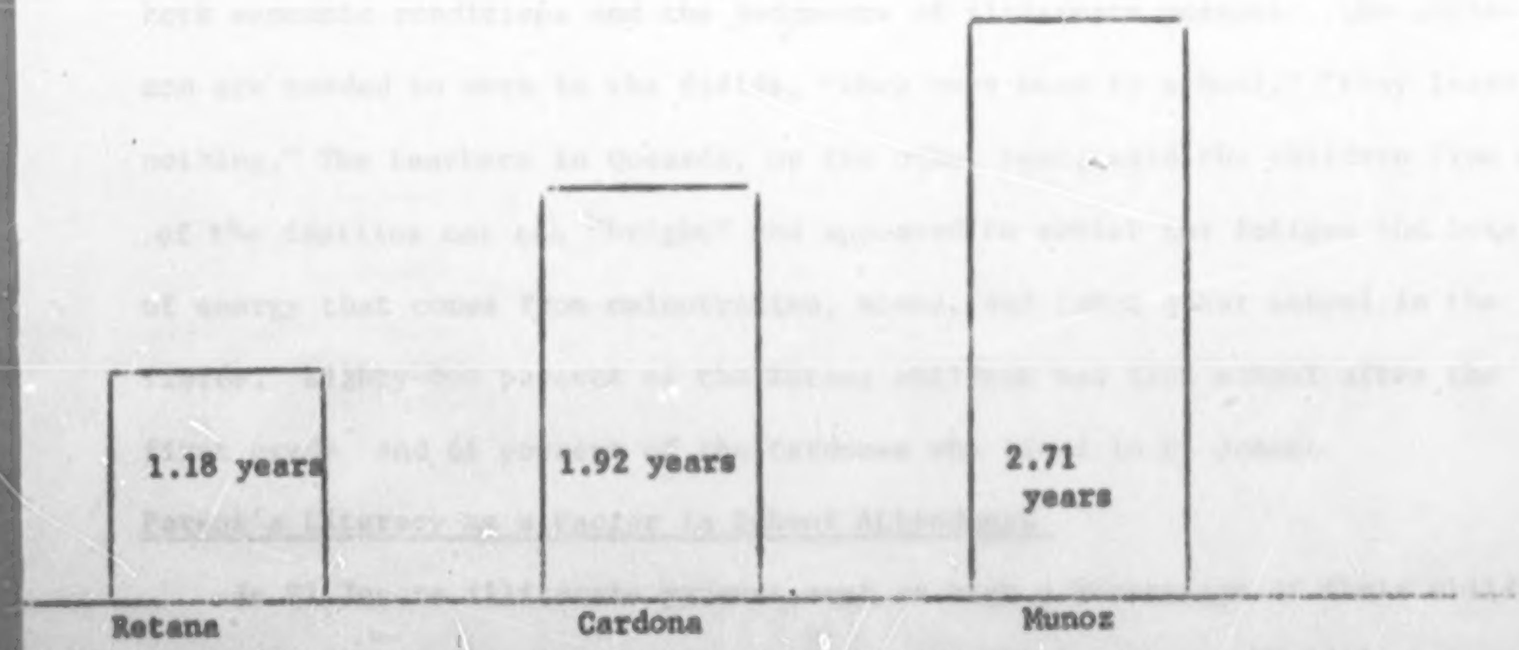


CHART X

Average grade level achieved by 4th generation children



NOTE: No fourth generation Soto children in El Jocote and (2) places of residence. Within El Jocote, fourth generation Cardona children, all from illiterate parents, averaged only 1.54 years of schooling; however, fourth generation Cardona children of illiterate parents living in the Municipio of Quezada average 2.32 years of schooling. In El Jocote fourth generation Muñoz children, all from parents who had attended school, averaged 2.32 years of schooling; Muñoz children living in Quezada averaged 2.84 years in school. Fourth generation Retana children, all of whom live in El Jocote, averaged only 1.18 years of school. There are no fourth generation Soto children.

In El Jocote illiterate parents (third generation) out-number literate parents (third generation) by more than 2 to 1, but both groups have sent approximately 47 percent of school age children to school.

According to the director of the Quezada school, no child is admitted to the second grade unless he can read second grade materials. Literacy is considered achieved upon completion of the second grade.

Of all the children from El Jocote attending the Quezada school 52 percent dropped out after the first grade. However of those living in Quezada, 88 percent went beyond the first grade. The reasons given by parents reflect both economic conditions and the judgments of illiterate parents: the children are needed to work in the fields, "they have been to school," "they learn nothing." The teachers in Quezada, on the other hand, said the children from two of the families not too "bright" and appeared to suffer the fatigue and loss of energy that comes from malnutrition, worms, and labor after school in the fields. Eighty-one percent of the Retana children had left school after the first grade and 66 percent of the Cardonas who lived in El Jocote.

Parent's Literacy as a Factor in School Attendance

In El Jocote illiterate parents sent as high a percentage of their children to school as literate parents (47.7 percent vs. 47.5 percent N= 164), but, as

CHART XI

School attendance (4th generation) by Literacy of parents

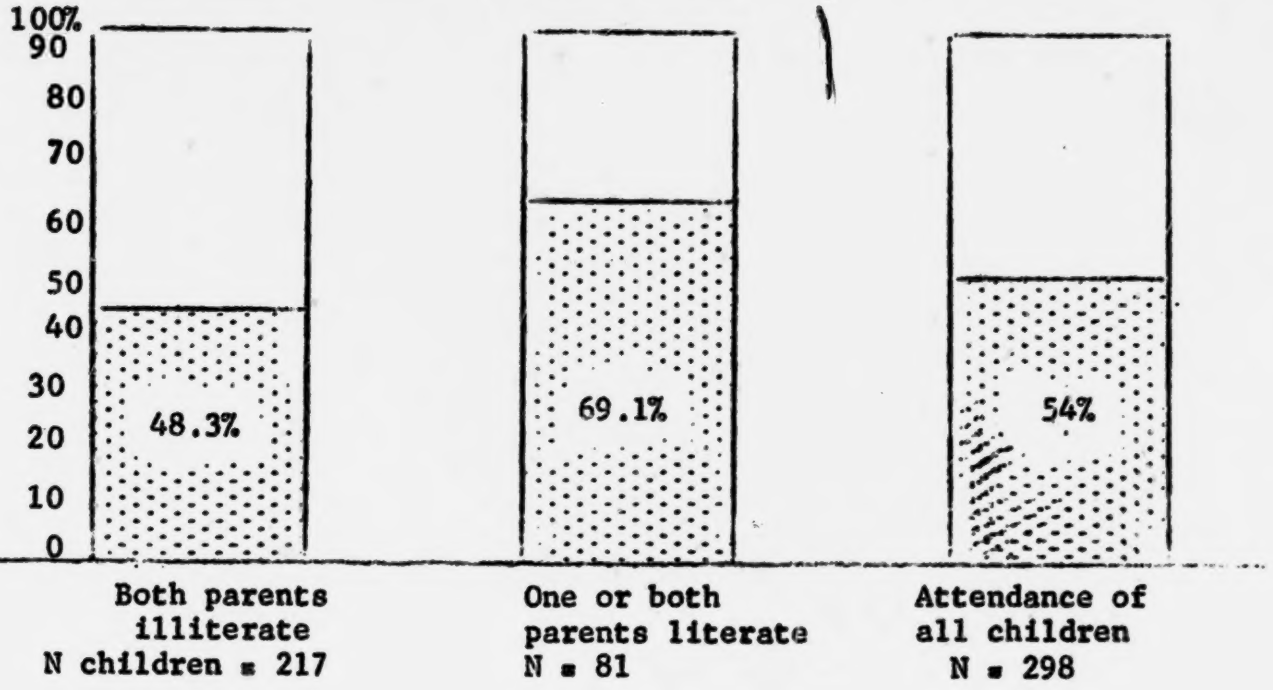
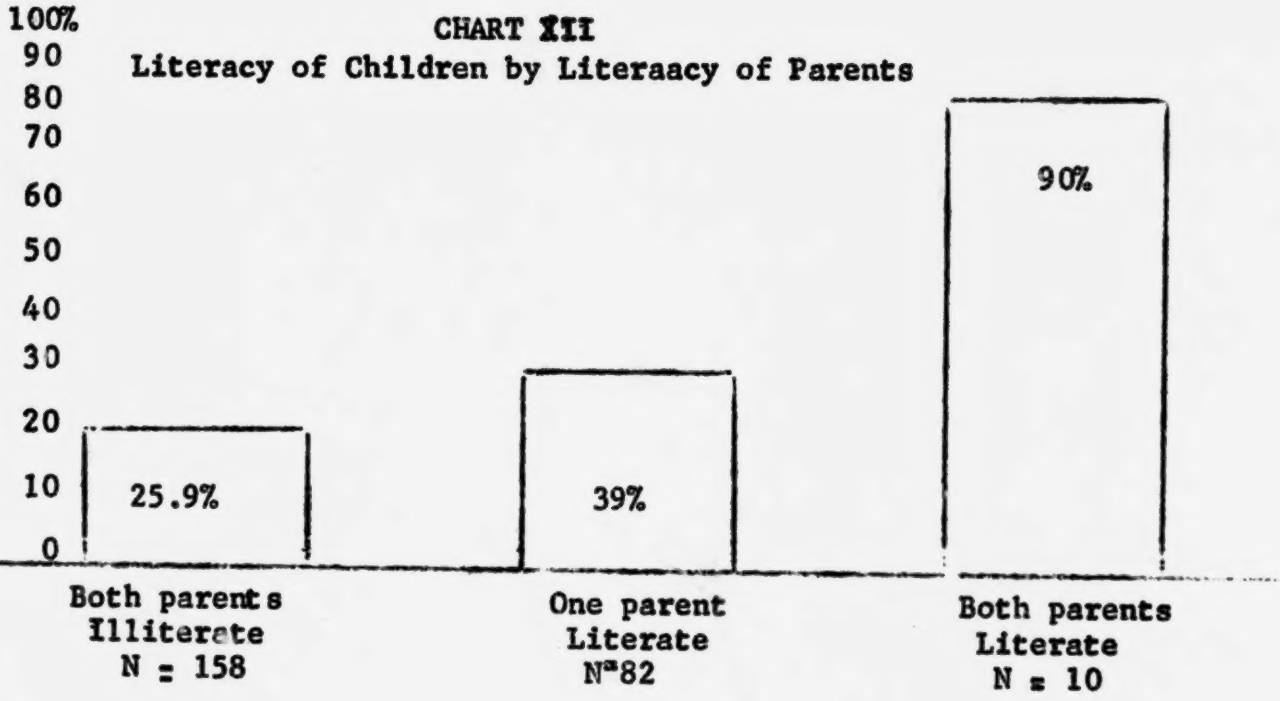


CHART XII
Literacy of Children by Literaacy of Parents



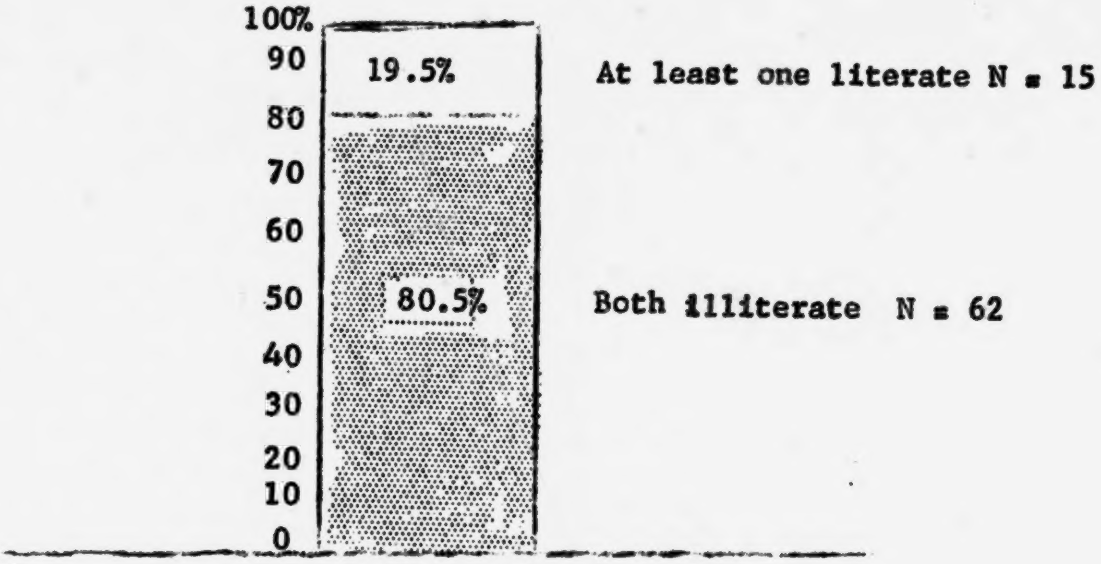
noted earlier, it follows that there were approximately three times as many children of illiterate parents who attended school. Among third generation families living outside of El Jocote, illiterate parents sent slightly more (49.4 percent) of their children to school, but literate parents living outside the aldea sent 94.5 percent of their children to school. The accompanying chart shows that 48.3 percent of the children of all illiterate third generation parents in the four families and 69.1 percent of the children of literate parents had attended school. The school attendance of all third generation children (54 percent) is 2 percent higher than the average found in four other rural communities in Jutiapa in 1964. As noted earlier roughly half of these children will not go beyond the first grade, nor will they achieve literacy, an indication that the literacy rate for the population will remain fairly stable.

Illiterate Parents Have Larger Families

According to the Registro Civil of Quezada, seventy-seven children were born in El Jocote between January 1, 1962 and September 1, 1964 (records for three months missing). Sixty-two of these (80 percent) were born of parents who were unable to sign the registry. Analysis of the percentage of the four hundred and thirty-three members of the fourth generation of the four families reveals that three hundred and one children were born of forty-five illiterate couples, or an average of 6.68 children per couple. Where both parents were literate (seven couples with twenty-nine children) the average was 4.14 children per couple. Among thirteen couples where the father was illiterate and the mother literate, the average number of children was 6.61, only slightly less than where both parents were illiterate. However, where the father only is literate the average number of children drops to 5.66. The role of the male as the master of the house and decision maker appears

CHART XIII

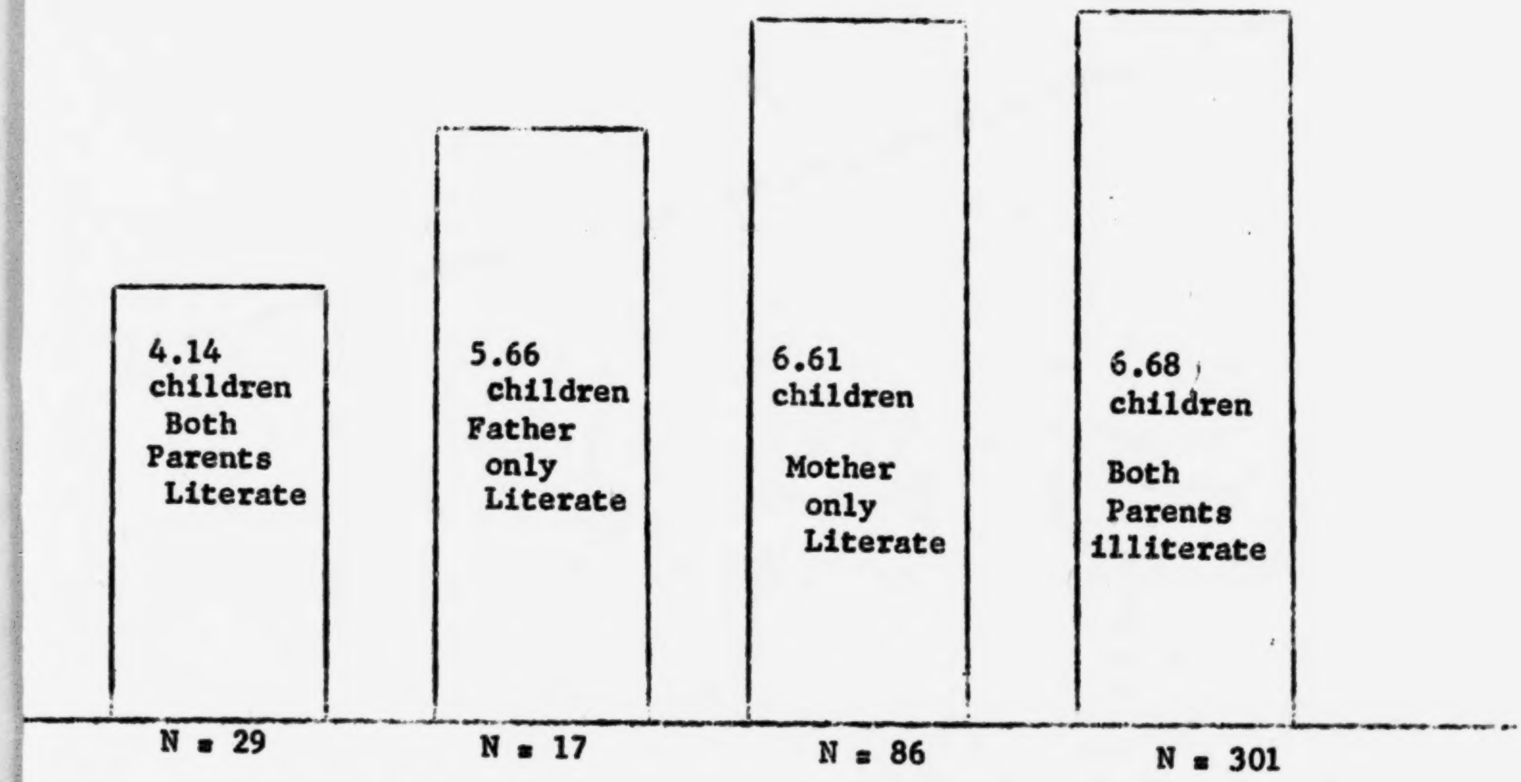
Births in El Jocote by Literacy of parents
(From Registro Civil, Quezada)



N = 77 (Births 1/1/62 - 9/1/64 with
3 months missing)

CHART XIV

Number of children per family (3rd generation parents)



to be influenced by his literacy, even though the average female believed she would have as many children as God wills. The implications of these figures are obvious among a population 78 percent illiterate and with a birth rate of 45.2 per thousand.

Illiteracy and Illegitimacy

While illegitimacy does not carry the stigma in El Jocote that it does in the United States and illegitimate children are loved, their chances of both inheritance and education are greatly reduced. Moreover, illegitimate children are the issue chiefly of illiterate parents.

Among fifty-six unrecognized illegitimate fourth generation children of the four families studied, fifty-four were born of illiterate parents and only two were born of those couples where one or the other parent was literate. Illegitimate children constituted 24.8 percent of all children born to third generation illiterate females, but 11.1 percent of the children born to literate females.

While 54 percent of the fourth generation attended school, a division between legitimate and illegitimate children shows that 58.2 percent of the legitimate children were sent to school but only 35.7 percent of the illegitimate children went to school.

The illegitimate youth is not usually approved by parents who are asked to sanction their children's choice. The reason given is not the status of birth but the lack of inheritance. Illegitimate unrecognized children in the second and even third generation often in the past received enough inheritance from their mother to marry into landed families. Today, however, the illegitimate child without inheritance and without his father's name to offer finds a mate among the equally poor and often illegitimate members of his generation.

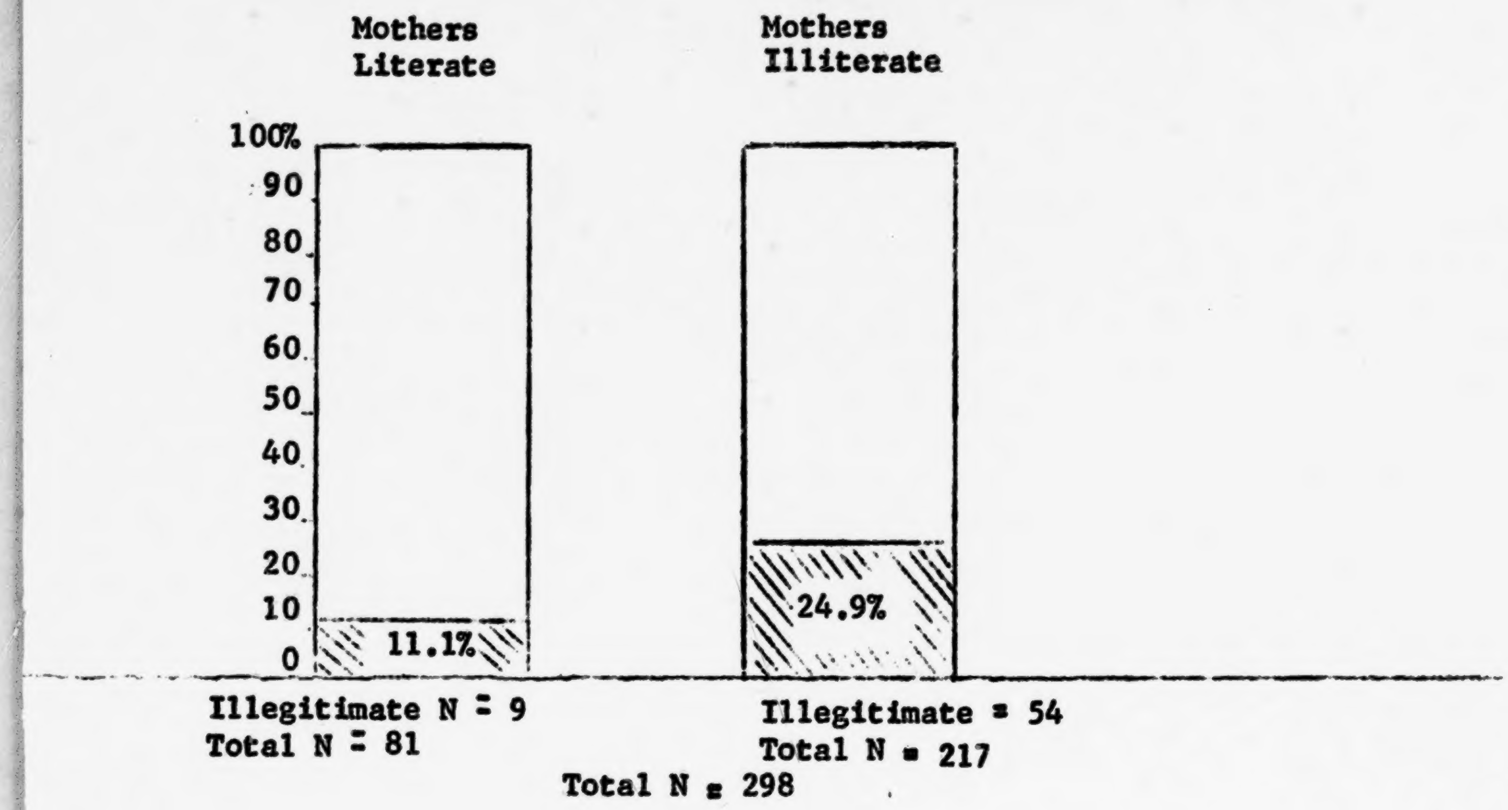


CHART XV
Illegitimate Children (4th generation) by Literacy of Mothers

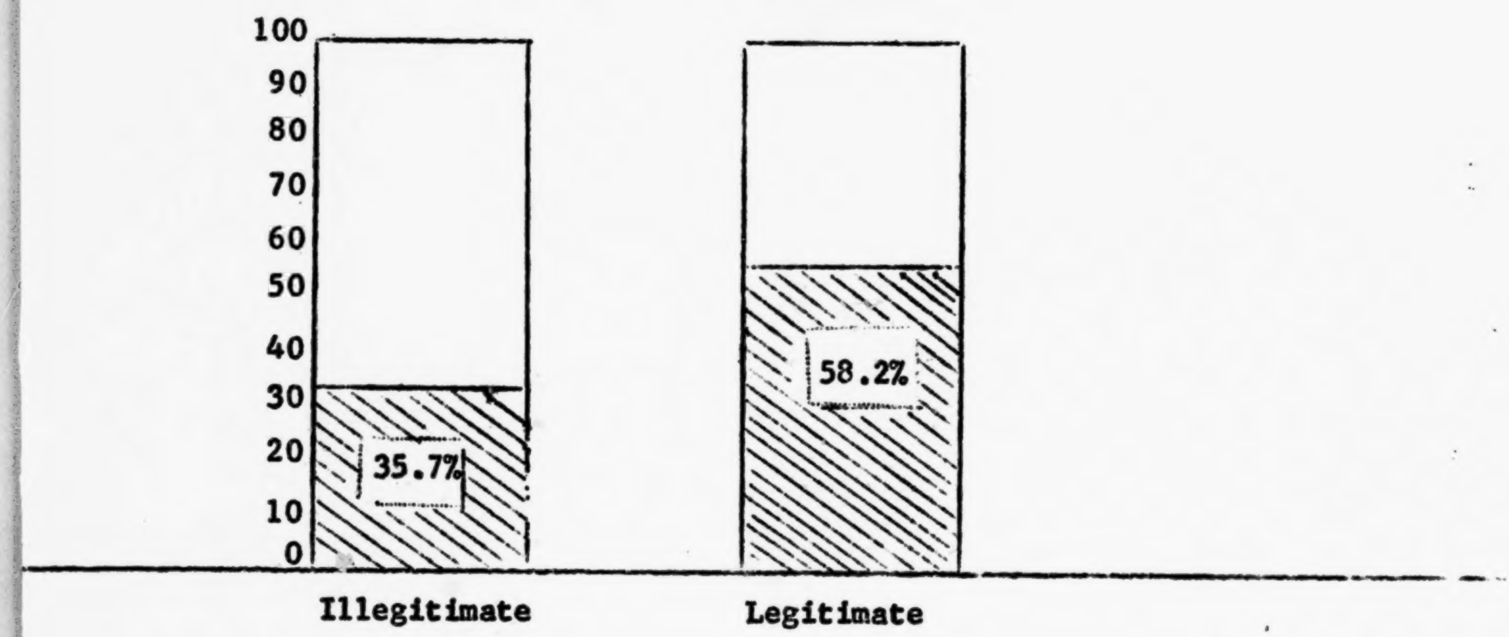


CHART XVI
School Attendance of Illegitimate Children
and Legitimate Children
(4th generation 7 plus years)

Lack of literacy appears to be a factor in illegitimacy. which accounts for 18.9 percent of all fourth generation children, and in turn sentences these children to fewer opportunities for education, for inheritance of land in a subsistence economy, and to restricted opportunities in marriage. In short, illiteracy renders almost hopeless the plight of its illegitimate offspring.

The Four Families and the Adult Literacy Class

The literacy class for adults conducted by Gregorio Soto for twelve months from February 1962 to September 1963 enrolled fifty-five students during the period. Before Soto stopped the class because of pressures from within the community, twenty-one dropped the course after three or fewer months of attendance, twenty-three attended sporadically and did not complete the series of six books (The "Juan Series"), two attended faithfully but did not progress beyond Book Two, and nine completed all six books and had begun to read the supplementary pamphlets from the Pan American Union series. The average age of those who attended classes for more than three months was fourteen, an age when a male is considered an adult and too old to go to public school.

Nine of those who remained more than three months were Cardonas and nine were Retanas, together constituting over half of those enrolled. After Soto was accused of being "a communist" in the spring of 1963 for having held classes at night, the Retanas were withdrawn from the class by their parents. None of the Muñoz family had ever attended the literacy class and the magnification and circulation of the charges against Gregorio Soto and opposition to the construction of a school in El Jocote were attributed to members of the Muñoz family. They professed to see no need for either the night literacy class nor a school in El Jocote since they had educated their children in Quezada. Under Muñoz influence, the Retanas, despite the fact that they had the highest rate of illiteracy among the four families, claimed that their children were either ill or too busy working to attend classes.

Six of the nine Cardonas attended until classes were discontinued. One left the literacy class to attend school in Quezada and two dropped out. Of those six who continued only two completed the series of books and these had attended one hundred and twenty-five and one hundred and fifty-four classes. The remaining four did not advance beyond the Book Three and they had attended an average of sixty-two class sessions.

Gregorio Soto was assisted by his son Jacobo who in 1962 was in the fifth grade of the Quezada school. The literacy skills and aptitudes of the students were mixed. Some had attended the Quezada school for a year or more. Several stopped and resumed classes. Two who had spent two years in the first grade in Quezada did not progress beyond the first book of the Juan Series, and two others who attended faithfully had memorized sentences from the first book of Juan but were unable to identify these sentences in the book. Soto and his son worked with the boys individually or in groups according to their reading level, calling upon them to read aloud, answer questions and write phrases on the 3' x 4' cardboard blackboard. The class sat on boxes and benches on the perimeter of Soto's adobe house, or kneeled on the dirt floor with their backs to the Coleman lantern to write in their notebooks. A part of each class session was given to a lecture in which Gregorio Soto explained on the meaning of a new word, the value of cleanliness, the causes of disease, the care of livestock, respect for one's elders, or events in the world which he had read in the Spanish edition of Reader's Digest. For the students, the class was an opportunity to sit at the feet of the most widely read and traveled man in El Jocote. It was also the only opportunity observed by the investigators for the youth of El Jocote who worked seven days a week during the planting and harvesting seasons to meet together. There was little joking or play during the classes. Students arrived early for class and studied their lessons silently. Slow students were assisted by the more advanced. There was no sense of competition among them and the jokes which the backward students brought upon themselves were shared in good nature by all of the class. At the close of the class at 9 P. M., the boys lighted their sticks of pitch pine and started for their homes on the run. Their shouting and laughing could be heard a half hour later as they slipped and stumbled on the narrow muddy veredas.

Examination of the attendance records indicates that the presence of the investigators had little affect on the number of students attending classes in 1962. The month before the investigators arrived in July 1962, eighteen attended classes. Two more joined the class while the investigators were in El Jocote assisting with the classes. In September after the investigators left, attendance rose to twenty-four. However, the regularity of attendance during the stay of the investigators increased; there was an average of thirteen class attendances per student during the two months preceding the arrival of the investigators compared with an average of twenty-six attendances per student during the two months when the investigators were present.

In 1963 both the number of students and their rate of attendance increased sharply with the arrival of the investigators. There is some reason to believe that the classes, which in 1963 did not begin until May, would not have been resumed if Gregorio Soto had not been informed of the investigators' plan to return to El Jocote June 1, 1963.

In 1964 three of the former night literacy class students (two Retanas and a Cardona, one eight years old and two eleven) were enrolled in the school in Quezada. In 1964 the parents of Cardona boys who attended the school expressed regret that Soto no longer conducted classes. Soto was bitter, saying that his reward for his "patriotism and service to the community had been vilification and abuse."

The Use of Literacy Skills Among The Four Families

Among the households of the four families where there was a literate member, the only homes with periodicals, newspapers or books other than school texts were those of Gregorio Soto, Leonardo Muñoz and José Luis Cardona. Soto possessed the only library in El Jocote which consisted of six books in Spanish: The Count of Monte Cristo, a collection of stories by Jules Verne, The History of Cotton, Veterinary Medicine, Care of Animals, and a Spanish dictionary. Soto also had a selection of pamphlets from the Guatemalan Agricultural Extension Office, back issues of the Spanish editions of Life and Reader's Digest and newspapers given to him by his cousin Manuel Soto. In 1963 the investigator sent Life and Reader's Digest to Soto. Leonardo Muñoz, who is confined to his corredor with an amputated leg reads slowly and with difficulty almost every column of the back number newspapers brought to him from the pueblo by his granddaughter Elvira who works in the store of the teacher, Dora Chiú. He shares his newspapers with his brother Cristobal. Leonardo Muñoz owns one book, Libro de los Destinos which he bought for 50¢ from a clothes peddler who came to his house years ago. The publisher claims the book was "once the private possession of Emperor Napoleon published in 1822 from an ancient Egyptian manuscript found in 1801 by M. Sonnonini in a tomb of the Pharaohs near Monte Libico." The books contains information about destiny, the power of the planets, questions to be asked on certain days, the days the phases of the moon will affect children and business. Leonardo Muñoz says that the position of the stars and the hour of birth do affect destiny, but he does not know the hour of his birth or that of his children. He owns no magazines but stated, "I used to have a magazine. It had a lot of English in it. I used to study it and read it, but finally they (his granddaughters) tore it to pieces in order to glue some of its pictures on the wall." Pedro Cardona who is twenty spent three years in the

Quezada school and lives with his father José Luis Cardona. Pedro owns one book, " a Catholic book which contains the commandments and the Lord's law." It is the only book he has read since he left school. He believes it is better to listen to the radio than to read books because"...all that books say one can't learn, because one's understanding isn't enough."

There are no books except first grade readers in other homes where there are literates. The first grade reader used in rural schools costs $1.00, the equivalent of two and a half days wages, if a man can find work for cash wages. Paperback books are expensive and available only in Guatemala City. Four daily newspapers were received in Quezada and only Leonardo Muñoz and Gregorio Soto were known to occasionally receive back copies. In 1963 there was no public or school library in the municipio of Quezada and no books except school texts were sold.

Among the literates of El Jocote only Gregorio Soto and his sons were aware of reading for pleasure or of the stored knowledge available to the literate. Soto was proud of his knowledge which he shared with his literacy class. He had studied the names, the calls, the habitat and migratory patterns of birds through Central America. He had a knowledge of the chemical properties of fertilizers and their use, the varieties of hybrid corns, the use of insecticides, animal diseases, the role of vitamins and proteins in the diet. To the question "If you could buy books which books would you buy?" Gregorio Soto first spoke of the need for a new book on veterinary medicine and then laughed as he spoke of all the things there are to know. Occasionally on Sunday night when there were no literacy classes Gregorio Soto taught his wife, Carmen, to read. His two literate sons gathered around the Coleman lantern supplied for his literacy classes reading back issues of magazines. On other occasions, both of the sons were observed helping their mother with her lessons.

Francisco Cardona and Juan Flores both attended school at about the same time as Soto in the early nineteen-twenties, and both completed the second grade. Neither had read a book since leaving school and both were illiterate in 1963. Only one of Francisco Cardona's eleven children had attended school and had not achieved literacy. Three of Juan Flores' children were in school in 1963 and five, ranging in age from seventeen to twenty-six, had completed from three to five years of school. None of his children claimed to have read anything but school books. Both Francisco Cardona and Juan Flores professed that literacy is important. When asked what books they would like to own, Juan Flores stated, "You don't have to buy a book if you know how to read." Francisco Cardona answered, "School books, so we can remember what we learned." Gregorio Soto was asked why he alone of the adult literates in El Jocote had put his literacy skills to work. First he mentioned his father's interest and encouragement and then the five years spent with the United Fruit Company in Puerto Barrios where he was taught by Americans to make use of his literacy, to study manuals on the maintenance and care of machinery, the use of fertilizers and insecticides. It was in Puerto Barrios, too, he said, that he learned to read stories for pleasure.

It is evident that the literates of El Jocote have not been educated to the purposes of literacy or education. Among fifteen individuals who had completed from two to four years of school, four were unable to name the type of book they would like to own; three named school books they had already read; two named religious books, two books on agriculture and one girl with three years of school wanted a cook book in order to get a job as a cook in Guatemala City. The girl is one of seven literate children of Pedro Serrano and his wife who are both illiterate. There is one school book in the house.

Twelve of the fifteen own no books, and ten had read nothing since leaving school. Four had received a letter within the month and volunteered the date the letter was received. One had received a letter within three months. Ten could not remember having received a letter within the past year nor had they written a letter. Two said they had written a letter within the past week, two within the month, and one within three months.

Among the five members of the second generation living in El Jocote who advanced to the second grade or beyond, four remain literate. Among eighteen members of the third generation who reached the second grade, five (or 27.7 percent) have lost their ability to read. Among a random sample of thirty-two households throughout the community in 1962, it was found that 38 percent of the adults who had attended school two years or more were illiterate. In four cases the person interviewed claimed to be literate and discovered their own loss of literacy when asked to read a passage from the books of the Juan Series in the literacy program.

The Meaning of Literacy Among the Four Families

With the exception of Gregorio Soto, there are no important differences between literates and illiterates in their perception of the role and effects of literacy in their lives in areas of health, nutrition and economics.

As noted in Chapter II, a series of twenty-two drawings based upon situations familiar to El Jocotecos was used in 1963 to elicit the views of literates and non-literates in areas of agricultural practices, the importance of education and literacy, health, authority, and self-other orientations. All responses were recorded on tape, transcribed, translated and rated by two judges, neither of whom had participated in the field work nor had any knowledge of the population. The judges found no significant differences between literates and illiterates in their perception of the effects of literacy on everyday life, in their understanding of health and illness, in their attitudes towards government, or in their life aspirations. Only in the areas of the importance of school over work for both children and adults and orientation towards self were significant differences found.

Both implicit and explicit in the picture test interview was the question "What is the importance of literacy? What will it do for this person?" In addition to the qualitative evaluation noted above by psychologists, responses to directed interview questions were quantified. Responses to the question on the importance of literacy fell into seven categories as follows:

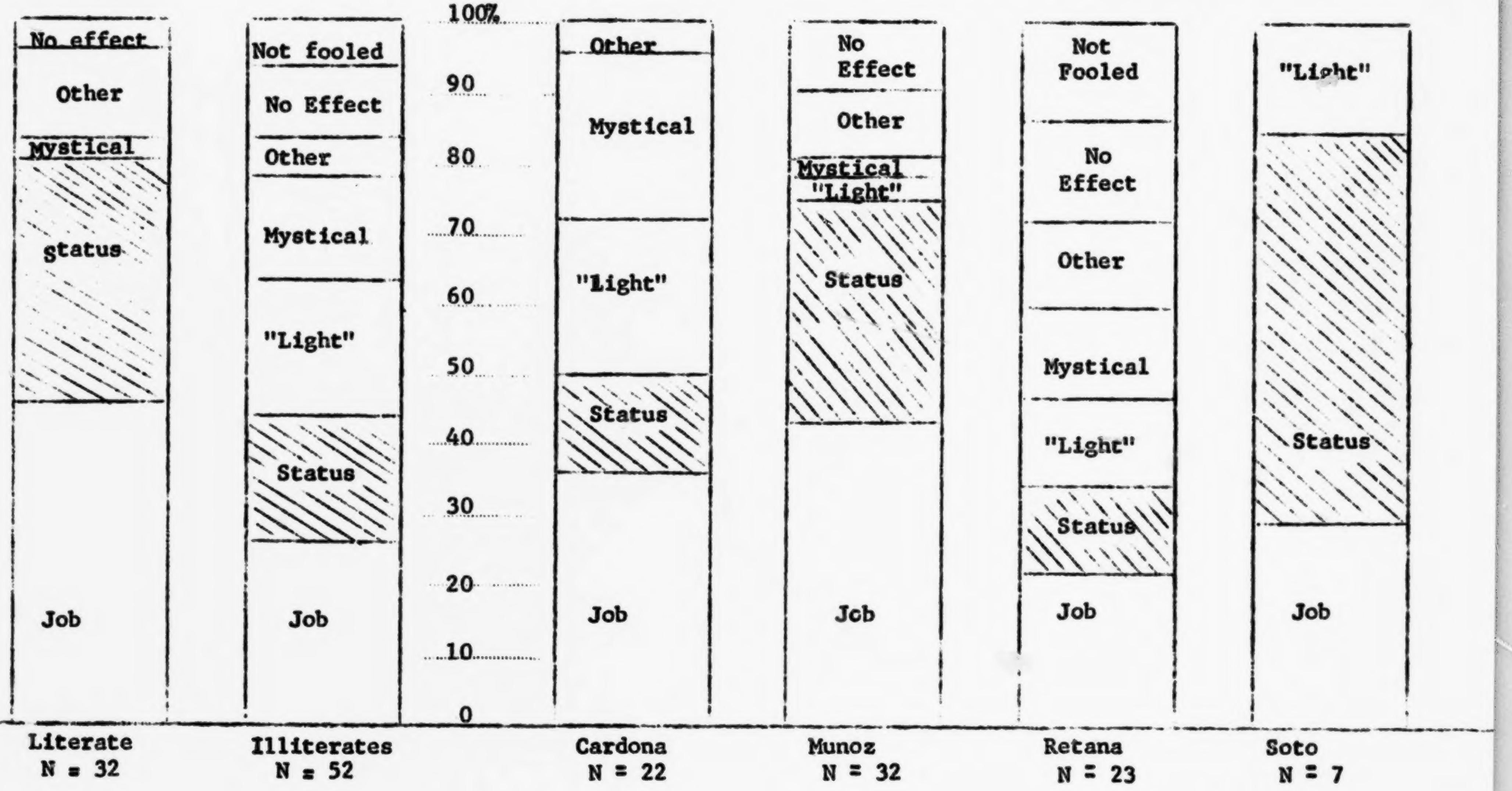
1. The literate can get a job outside the community, usually as a teacher, secretary, chauffeur, foreman on a finca, or a mechanic.
2. Status; the literate is more influential, "can talk with anyone," "is more respected," "can sign important documents."
3. The literate "can see the light," "not knowing anything is like being in the darkness."
4. Mystical evaluation; literacy is important, but the respondent is unable to tell why. "It is important because it is important."
5. No perceived value or effect.
6. The literate is not fooled, or taken advantage of. "When one goes out to work they want to fool you. If you know how to write, no one fools you, right?"
7. Other: send a telegram, read a newspaper, read signs and directions, drive a car.

The chart on the following page shows the distribution of 84 responses from 36 individuals, 14 of whom were literate. For both literates and illiterates the chief role of literacy is to pave the way for jobs outside of the community. However, only two of the persons interviewed expressed a wish to leave the community and none except Soto understood the degree of literacy required of a teacher, secretary or mechanic. For literates, the second most

CHART XVII

Perceived Effects of Literacy

Anwers from 36 individuals (14 literate) to explicit and implicit question "What is the importance of Literacy?"



most important product of literacy is status, while the second most frequent responses by illiterates were about equally divided among "light," "status," and "mystical."

Distribution of these same responses according to their family membership shows that among the Muñoz' and Sotos where both income and literacy are highest, jobs and status together comprise 75 percent and 85 percent respectively of their responses. The Cardonas, less literate and less articulate, attach little importance to status but are emphatic about the "importance" of literacy. The answers of the Retanas, with a literacy rate of 10.1 percent fell almost equally into the seven categories. They showed less conviction and more vacillation than members of the other families. While it proved difficult to obtain for interviews the illiterate members of the Muñoz family and Gregorio Soto concealed the illiteracy of his nephews and nieces, the Cardonas showed no embarassment over their illiteracy. To repeated questions about literacy of members of the family, responses were uniform, "Him, no...none of them can read." When the meeting was held July 29, 1963 to discuss the construction of a new school, the Cardonas turned out in greatest numbers. Isabel Cardona, a male, was the only illiterate elected to the school construction committee. His father, José Luis, the most respected member of the family, spoke for the family and strongly in favor of the school.

The Perceived Role and Effect of Literacy on Agricultural Methods

To the directed question "Is there a difference in the way of cultivating the land, raising crops and raising cattle among those families you know who can read and write and those who cannot read or write," 46.2 percent of the literates and 62.5 percent of the illiterates said there were no differences. Of those who said literacy made possible better farming methods, the reasons given (except in the case of the Sotos) were non-specific: "He who knows how to read realizes many things that perhaps help the land," "It is better to have done some reading," "There is a difference in knowing how to work well," "It enlightens their senses," However, one illiterate stated, "He who knows how to read can farm those things that the reading tells him... only they are grabbing and doing it." This man sent none of his five children over seven years to school.

The responses pattern among the four families appears to reflect family loyalties and spheres of influence rather than a literate versus non-literate pattern. Among the Cardonas who are strongly influenced by Gregorio Soto and supplied the largest number of students to the literacy class, two-thirds said that literacy makes a difference in farming methods, but again were non-specific. All of the Sotos were in articulate agreement. However, only 30 percent of the Muñoz, the most literate family, and 40 percent of the Retanas, the least literate family, professed to see that literacy made any difference in agricultural practices or income. As noted earlier, the Retanas interact more often with members of the Muñoz family than any other and generally follow the Muñoz lead on all matters of opinion, including those on education and schooling.

RESPONSES (BY LITERATES AND ILLITERATES) TO QUESTION "DOES LITERACY AFFECT AGRICULTURAL METHODS AND PRODUCTIVITY?"

	Literacy Affects Agricultural Methods	Literacy Has No Effect
Literates	53.8 %	46.2 %
Illiterates	37.5 %	62.5 %

RESPONSES TO ABOVE QUESTION BY FAMILY MEMBERSHIP

	Literacy Affects	Literacy Has No Affect
Cardona	66.6 %	33.3 %
Muñoz	30.0 %	70.0 %
Retana	40.0 %	60.0 %
Soto	100.0 %	0.0 %

The Perceived Role and Effect of Literacy on Health and the Raising of Children

Directed questions about health and the raising of children show little difference between literates and illiterates in their perception of the effect of literacy. One of the picture test cards shows a naked baby sitting on the ground. To the question "Will the baby on the ground be sick?" 72.7 percent of the literates and 84.6 percent of the illiterates said "no." Typical answers were "What harm can come to him there," "If he were sick he would not be on the ground," "The baby is playing." The sample was small and the few affirmative answers gave "dampness" and "microbes" as reasons. The pattern of responses is similar to those of one hundred persons in four other communities of Jutiapa who were given the same test in August 1964.

To the question "Is there a difference in the sickness among families you know who can read and families who cannot read?" 45 percent of the literates and 60 percent of the illiterates said they saw no difference. There were no important differences in the answers of members of the four families, with the exception of the Sotos.

Literates among the four families showed a greater understanding of the cause of illness than illiterates. To the directed question (picture test) "What do you think caused the illness of the baby in the hammock?" all of the literates indicated some understanding, while three-quarters of the illiterates either said they didn't know or ascribed the cause of illness to "God." One-quarter indicated some further understanding by naming an illness as well as a cause.

There is no difference in the perception of literates and illiterates of the effects of literacy on the way children are raised. The question "Is there a difference in the way children are raised among families you know who can read and write and among those who cannot read or write?" brought a negative reply from 45 percent of the literates and 47 percent of the illiterates. Slightly over half thought literacy affected the way children were raised, but none except the Sotos were able to provide convincing reasons.

To many of the questions above, there is a reasonable presumption that few thoughts on the questions were held and that answers reflected a desire to appear in agreement with the perceived interests of the investigator. In several instances, answers were so vague and non-committal that a positive answer was prompted by the question "Are the illnesses (or the way children are raised) the same or different?"

The Four Families: Economics, Nutrition, Health and Infant Mortality

With the noted exception of Gregorio Soto there were few observable differences in agricultural practices among the four families. All planted corn and beans together using seed harvested the previous year. None used chemical or animal fertilizer on the milpa. Among all families, those who raised tobacco planted black tobacco, acquiring seed and fertilizer from the Tabacalera Nacional. There was little difference among the families in the use of the azadón and plow for preparation and cultivation of the soil. According to the representative of the Tabacalera Nacional, none of the households, literate or illiterate, made proper use of the "English" (steel) plow, turning the soil furrow upon furrow. Instead, it was used to build surcos or hills for planting after the soil had been broken in two directions. There were no differences in the breeds of livestock or poultry; pigs, chickens and cows were all of the same native, inbred unproductive mixtures. Only Gregorio Soto owned what he termed a pure-bred Brown Swiss, named Cocinera and only Soto planted some #520 hybrid corn, used fertilizer on his corn (although he claimed he could not afford to use fertilizer on all the milpa). He finally agreed in 1964 to raise Turkish tobacco, owned a pump to irrigate a small portion of his land, experimented with vegetables and tried to raise hybrid poultry. Not all of his experiments were successful: the poultry experiment failed for lack of disease control and his vegetables were destroyed by leaf-eating ants and hail. In the summer when pastures dried, Cocinera gave no more milk than the native breeds. However, his planting of #520 corn yielded 40 quintals of corn, four times the average for the community and he used the manure from the corral to fertilize the milpa. In 1963, Soto gave over a half manzana along the main road through El Jocote to a demonstration of the effectiveness of fertilizer conducted by Antonio Garcia, the Jutiapa agricultural agent. The differences in the growth of fertilized and unfertilized plots were obvious and impressive, but the demonstration was too sophisticated (nine plots were planted with different formulas) for the average campesino and ignored by the literates at odds with Soto. Despite the setbacks, Soto's 1961-62 income was twice that of any other household head in El Jocote, but he also owned more land and better land than others. Perhaps it was the latter more acceptable explanation, more and better land, that explained Soto's success to his neighbors. By 1964 none among the other three families had followed his examples of enlightened agricultural practices.

From the seventeen households of the four families interviewed in 1962, ten, including three each of the Cardona, Muñoz and Retana families and Gregorio Soto, have been selected for comparisons of literacy of those seven years and older, net worth, per capita income, per capita land ownership, diet, illness, infant mortality, livestock, fruit trees and ownership of storage bins. The household heads are all members of the third generation with the exception of Soto, all are between thirty-five and fifty-two years of age, and all had dependent children. There were eighty-two individuals in these ten households, and approximately half the sample administered the picture test interview (LIT) was drawn from these households.

While there are notable differences between the four groups of families in economics, nutrition and health, more striking differences are evident within each group. (See Chart on following page.) When the ten households are ranked in order from highest to lowest in literacy, there is almost a straight line relationship between net worth, per capita income, land ownership, nutrition, illness, and infant mortality. The correlation between literacy and income is .7.

Five of the households had combined literacy rate of 62.1 percent (range 40 - 80 percent) and five a combined rate of 9.6 percent (range 0 - 16.6 percent). The "high" literacy group includes the three Muñoz households, one Soto and one Cardona. The "low" group includes two Cardonas and three Retana households.

Per capita illness reported by five high literate families during six months period (1/62 - 7/62)	1.25 per person
Per capital illness reported by five low literate families	3.51 per person
Infant mortality among five high literate families	2.5 %
Infant mortality among five low literate families	21.42 %
Diet among five high literate families	43.0
Diet among five low literate families	29.6

Note: When the ten families are grouped according to the five with highest net worth and the five with the lowest net worth, there is no significant change in the figures given above. See chart for computation of diet score.

Per capita net worth of five high literate families (Range: $55 - $507)	$250.45
Per capita net worth of five low literate families (Range: $42 - $122)	$ 67.61
Per capita income of five high literate families (Range: $6.25 -$118)	$ 41.70
Per Capita income of five low literate families (Range $2 - $16.14)	$ 8.29

Productivity:

Qvuintales of corn per *manzanas*, five high literate families..9.86
(Range: 5.7 - 16.6)
Qunitales of corn per *manzanas*, five low literate families... 6.76
(Range: 2.0 - 8.8)

Qunitales of beans per *manzanas*, five high literate families................................ 10.3
(Range 7.0 - 14)

Qunitales of beans per *manzanas*, five low literate families 6.0
(Range: 50.0 - 8.0)

While the foregoing might suggest that ecomomic well-being, health, and diet are products of literacy, it also suggests that economic well-being promotes literacy. The average per capita income of $37.47 of the five high net worth families, although extremely low, does permit the purchase of school books and clothes. The fact that the average per capita income of $11.95 for the five low net worth households is higher than the modal income of all ten households indicates the poverty that makes the purchase of books and clothes for children impossible for the majority of families. (It should be noted that night literacy classes, where books and pencils are provided without cost, enroll school age children throughout the Department of Jutiapa.) In four of the households with the highest literacy rate the father of the male head of the household was literate. None of the parents of the household heads of the low literate group was literate. However, among both the high literacy group and the high net worth group all household heads became self-dependent at an early age. Three received their inheritance while young men, two were illegitimate children who received an inheritance from their mothers.

Households	Literacy	Net Worth	Per Capita Income	Per Capita Land	Diet	PerCap Illness	Mortality	Prod. Corn	Per Man. Beans	Storage Bins	Fruit Trees	Cows	Horses	Oxen	Pigs
Munoz"A"	58.3%	$3128	$38.20	2.31	42	.46	0.0%	10.0	12.0	2	6	2	3	2	0
Munoz"B"	54.5%	441	30.12	.42	49	2.25	10.0	6.0	14.0	0	2	0	1	0	2
Munoz"C"	50.0%	792	6.25	.43	46	.25	0.0	5.7	7.0	2	6	1	2	0	0
Munoz Avg.	55.5%	$1453	$29.26	1.08	39	1.00	3.8%	7.8	11.0	1.3	4.6	1	2	0.6	0.6
Cardona"A"	20.0%	$ 385	8.00	.50	14	4.20	50.0%	2.0	6.0	0	0	0	1	0	3
Cardona"B"	0.0%	496	2.00	.30	46	5.10	27.2	8.0	6.0	0	0	1	1	0	1
Cardona"C"	40.0%	2110	24.71	1.42	48	2.40	0.0%	11.0	8.0	2	1	3	3	2	1
Cardona Avg	17.6%	$ 977	$ 9.78	.69	36	3.84	29.1%	6.1	6.6	.6	0.3	1.3	1.3	0.6	1.6
Retana"A"	12.5%	$ 615	$ 6.90	.35	26	2.00	0.0%	7.5	5.0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Retana"B"	16.6%	981	11.25	.37	42	3.50	13.2%	7.5	5.0	2	0	1	1	2	1
Retana"C"	0.0%	295	16.14	.42	20	2.80	16.6%	8.8	8.0	0	8	0	0	0	0
Retana Avg.	10.4%	$ 630	10.88	.38	29	2.72	12.5%	7.9	6.0	.6	3.0	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.6
Soto"A"	80.0%	#3547	$118.00	3.14	50	1.14	0.0%	16.6	12.0	2	13.0	2.0	1	0.0	2.0

* Shown as a percent of the literates in each household

** Net Worth has been computed as follows:

Houses $200 - $400	Community land $25 per manzana	Tools at replacement value, oxen $250 a team
Titled land $ 100	Grain bins $11.50	Cows $70, Horses and mules $60, bulls and young stock $25, pigs(grown) $15, chicken $.50

*** Per capita income is shown after purchase of corn and beans

**** Diet: All families reported eating tortillas and frijol 3 meals a day. The above figures represent reported family comsumption of milk, cheese, beef, chicken, pork, and vegetables as follows: 30 points for daily consumption of any of these, 4 points for weekly consumption, 2 points fortnightly, and one point monthly.

***** Illness reported by each household 1/62 - 7/62.

Source of Data, 1962 Interviews

VI SUMMARY

In this study we have presented an exploration of the meaning of literacy in a peasant community. A variety of methods of literacy research have been evaluated and tested under field conditions. Some have shown considerable promise for future research and others have revealed severe limitations within the framework of the present study.

El Jocote, the focus of this study, is believed to be representative of the Ladino peasant community found throughout Central America. It is a community characterized by a subsistence economy, life dominated by custom and tradition, with minimal communication with the outside world. Literacy skills are an emerging phenomenon in such communities and their effect on the future development of the area, both economically and socially, is at present unknown. This study has sought to describe some of the observed features of the effects of literacy skills in such a community and has more closely examined this question from the perspective of four families, their history, their attitudes and their life style.

Beginning with the breakup of the Hacienda of Quezada in 1895, the histories of the major family groups in El Jocote have been traced and examined in detail. The early self-conscious attempts at gaining freedom from the status of _colono_ have been largely supplanted by a return to the economic and social pattern of the Hacienda; the major portions of the land are held by the older members of a few families who are accorded the title "don."

The problem of literacy is a serious and yet typical one in El Jocote. Seventy-eight percent of the population over seven years of age is illiterate. Books, newspapers, other sources of communication are limited to one or two families, and contact with the culture outside of the immediate geographical area is extremely limited.

The exploration of testing instruments provided one of the most fruitful approaches and sources of information in this study. Even a definition of literacy became so unreliable as to lead to the development of an accurate field instrument since used in literacy research in the area. Self report on literacy is highly unreliable, since it very often reflects a lost skill due to lack of practice. The lack of understanding of the meaning of testing, the difference in concern with quantification and with time are just a few of the major influences on testing. It did become clear that the subjects would respond in order to please the examiner with almost any kind of instrument; however their reliability is questionable. Picture story tests devised for this particular study proved most effective in eliciting attitudes and information from the subjects that ordinarily could not be obtained through interview methods. These instruments are suggested as having relevance for future research and will be further used by the investigators.

From the psychological instruments and the intensive study of the life conditions of the four families, some of the following kinds of emerging factors are suggested:

1. There seems to be a high relationship between literacy and general level of functioning, as determined by independent judges' analysis of drawings and picture story tests. The relationship of intelligence to the place of the individual in his community is clearly an underlying variable in much of the findings. The literate group consistently appears to be the better organized and more intelligent, as judged from a variety of instruments.
2. As evaluated from the literacy interest tests, the literates show much greater emphasis on the importance of literacy and the importance of school for children and adults. While the literate may have little

use for his literacy skills at present, his attitudes toward the value of literacy seem to lead him to send children to school and thereby promote the cause and possibilities of increased literacy in his community.

3. In the four families, some of the following differences are particularly suggestive concerning the effect of literacy:
    a) A higher percentage of literate parents send their children to school,
    b) The illiterate parents have larger families,
    c) There is a higher rate of illegitimacy in the illiterate families.
    d) When the four families are ranked in order from highest to lowest in literacy, there is almost a straight line relationship between net worth per capita, land owned, illness, infant mortality, and indices of economic status and practice.
4. Changes among families since 1900 when the "first" generation of ex-colonos began new lives with equal amounts of titled land are attributable to several factors. While there is a relationship between land ownership, or wealth, and literacy from the first through the third generation, early inheritance and independence from paternal authority in the second and third generation appear to be relevant factors.
5. The use of literacy as a functional tool in the improvement of life conditions is clearly perceived by only one household in El Jocote and the head of this household spent several years working outside the community. To the majority of the literates, literacy means improved status within the community and the opportunity for jobs outside the community. However, the literacy requirements for the jobs mentioned

are not understood and the known security of the land holds the majority to the life of the campesino.

6. To the illiterate, literacy is important but for reasons that are often not clear. In El Jocote, while illiterate parents send approximately the same percentage of their children to school as literate parents, few are kept in school long enough to achieve literacy. The relevance of school texts to their lives is often not clear. It is suggested that the functional approach of the Juan Books, used in adult literacy classes, may affect the campesino's perception of the meaning of literacy.

Literacy is a new and growing phenomenon in Central America. It is a problem matched only by the ever pressing question of population growth and indeed related to it as suggested by some of these findings. The land in the peasant community is becoming overcrowded, the old ways of growing, producing food, are becoming less effective for the number of people to be cared for. New ways of life based on communication with the outside culture seem imperative. The acquisition of literacy skills is felt to be one of the most important avenues to open the way for the underdeveloped areas.

The man in the peasant community does not clearly understand just what literacy may mean to him. He sometimes relates it to getting a job as a bus driver or as a mechanic. He feels that it is good for himself and his family if he already has acquired some literacy skills but he has difficulty with further understanding of the meaning. Some of this is based on the lack of availability of reading materials; some is based on the fact that once it has been available it has not been relevant to his life, and to the very binding force of custom in which he lives. Despite the lack of clear understanding and the slowness in the development of literacy skills, it seems clear that there are emerging differences in the way of life of the literates and illiterate and many of these have been discussed and described.

Further research may reveal more definitive differences between the literate and the illiterate. The refinement of psychological measurements, as attempted in this study, should contribute to the further analysis and understanding of attitudes in the peasant community.

GLOSSARY

1. adobe, mud brick with some straw added to bind mixture as it dries.
2. aguardiente, distilled liquor primarily of sugar.
3. alcalde, a mayor.
4. alcalde auxiliar, an offical helper for the mayor, one from each small community in the municipio, but whose political importance is small.
5. alcaldía, the town hall.
6. aldea, a small community, part of a municipio ; may contain a school and/or church but no other services.(Cf. municipio, cabecera.)
7. astillero, term in region of Quezada for community lands to be used for grazing and woodlot; untitiled land whose use must be petitioned by descendents of the founders and where several small communities have grown up.
8. atole, a drink, usually warm, made from corn, water, sugar and sometimes cinnamon.
9. azadón, a large hoe; where no plow is owned or can be used it performs many functions.
10. bajareque, a wooden frame house construction with horizontal wood branches lashed onto the uprights and then chinked with clay.
11. caballeria, land measure equal to about 64 manzanas, or about 110½ acres.
12. cabecera, the town, the urban center of a municipio; receives orders from central government; both police and political control located in it so that inhabitants of aldeas and caserios are dependent on it.
13. calvario, a shrine, a small place of worship; in El Jocote a small building open on one side.
14. campesino, a rural person.
15. canicula, a dry spell during the rainy season.
16. cantaro, clay jug for carrying water.
17. caserio, a community smaller than an aldea; part of a municipio (township).
18. colono, a farm laborer who is given a homesite and sometimes tillage by his employer.

19. *comal*, a large clay disk supported over the fire on the cooking bench used to bake *tortillas*.

20. *compadre*, *comadre*, a god-father and god-mother relationship; in El Jocote not necessarily formalized by the church; an indicator of status and social spheres.

21. *conquistadores*, a term (literally,"conquerors") used locally to refer to hiring bosses who carry off laborers to harvest crops in other regions.

22. *corredor*, the shelter formed by the overhang of the roof which is supported by posts.

23. *cuerda*, a "block" of land which varies in size according to locale; in Quezada about 32 *varas* square (or 0.17 acres).

24. *cuma*, a long planting stick; sometimes has a metal blade for making the hole to plant seed.

25. *empirico*, a person who functions without formal training or certification by virtue of experience; term used for the druggist in El Jocote; can be said of a teacher or midwife, also.

26. *entoldado*, a wall or house construction; cane, cornstalk or small poles of brushwood set vertically.

27. *frijoles*, beans, usually black,and a variety suitable for storing dried.

28. *fundadores*, founders; term in Quezada for the laborers who with the help of the Guatemalan government bought the greater part of Quezada's Hacienda in the 1890's.

29. *granero*, a cylindrical silo of galvanized metal.

30. *ladino*, term used in Guatemala to divide the diversity of the population into two general categories, the other term being *indigena* (Indian). The terms do not denote primarily racial groups but socio-cultural ones. The *Ladino* can be white, of mixed blood, or Indian; the distinction is that he is or has become "a carrier of European culture and part of the national society" (S. Tax, *Penny Capitalism*) or "has a cultural inheritance oriented toward the Spanish" (R. Adams, *Encuesta Sobre la Cultura de los Ladinos*). In Quezada mention of Indian ancestry is avoided and all surnames are Spanish. No one is reported to be *indigena*.

31. *manzana*, roughly an acre and a half (1.7 plus acres).

32. *milpa*, a cornfield where beans and/or *maisillo* are often grown at the same time.

33. *municipio*, a township, the smallest political unit in Guatemala; consists of an urban center and a number of smaller communities which

must come to the center for services.(Cf. *cabecera*, *aldea*, *caserio*.)

34. *novio* (a), a sweetheart.

35. *paja*, straw.

36. *patrón*, an employer; often implies one who employes the worker for a long period of time.

37. *petate*, a reed or palm, mat used to sleep on either on the floor or a raised bed.

38. *piedra*, a slanting grinding stone used with a stone roller; from Indian culture.

39. *poyo*, a mud-plastered waist high wooden platform which is both stove and counter for preparing food. The fire is made within a semi-circular clay mound and topped by the *comal*.

40. *pueblo*, term (literally a town) used in El Jocote to refer to the cabecera of Quezada (Cf. *cabecera*).

41. *quintal*, a unit of weight, about 100 pounds.

42. *regidor*, a council man in town government.

43. *registro civil*, official register of civil statistics.

44. *rogación*, a ceremony usually with a procession carrying a saint, of prayer for something desired, for example, rain.

45. *surco*, a furrow.

46. *tarea*, a task, often an amount of work to be done in a day or the unit of work one is paid by.

47. *tortilla*, a round cake made of boiled ground corn and water and cooked on a greaseless griddle.

48. *vara*, roughly a yard (33 inches).

49. *vereda*, a lane or horse path.

RELATED LITERATURE

Studies of literacy in peasant communities are largely descriptive and offer little objective data for evaluation of the effects of literacy. Publications of the United Nations deal principally with basic facts and figures on illiteracy and with statistical studies of progress and analysis of training materials.

The Summer Institute of Linguistics (Gudschinsky, 1953) has established guidelines for the preparation of literacy materials and their use. A Spanish word frequency list for Latin America has been prepared by the Puerto Rico University Superior Education Council (1952).

A report of the proceedings of the Seminar on Literacy held in New Delhi (National Fundamental Education Center, 1962) assumes the importance of adult literacy to social and economic progress, examines the materials and strategy of literacy campaigns, and cites the problem of motivation and meaning among illiterate adults. H. P. Saksena, Assistant Director of the National Fundamental Education Center New Delhi, India, states, "So far, research in the field of adult literacy appears to be restricted to the study of word counts, survey of existing literature and new literates and reading interests and habits."

Carothers (1959) suggests that the presence or absence of literacy in a society constitutes one, if not the major, cultural factor in producing varying human attributes in mental health and illness, and cites the power of the written word in contemporary African societies, the effect of the development of writing in ancient societies and studies by Riesman and Piaget. Data developed by Benitez (1959) show that higher literacy correlated with lower mortality in Mexico.

Valverde (1961) in the principal and most recent publication on illiteracy in Guatemala, presents a history and description of government sponsored literacy programs since 1944, supported by statistics on costs and attendance. Whetten (1962) contains a chapter on education in Guatemala in which lack of schools, trained personnel, and curriculum meaningful to a peasant society are given as reasons for the continued high rate of illiteracy. Statements of the problems of national illiteracy are contained in Chavarria (1953) and a publication of Dirección General de Educación Fundamental (1952).

The principal literature on Guatemalan culture and peasant societies is concerned with native Indian cultures (Bunzel, R,, Gillin, J., Tax, S., Wagley, C., and others). The principal work on the Guatemalan Ladino (Adams,1956) presents a general description of this culture in eastern and northern Guatemala supported by statistics from 1950 census. Papers and commentaries by R. Adams, R. Beals, L. Gillin, A. Holmberg, Sol Tax, C. Wagley and others (1960), deal with social change and factors influencing social change in both Indian and Ladino societies of Guatemala. A description of peasant society and culture (Redfield, 1960) embraces the characteristics of the peasant communities of the Department of Jutiapa.

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APPENDIX

Literacy Interest Test

Ladder Rating (PIIP) Interview

1962 Interview Schedule

LITERACY INTEREST TEST (LIT)

Sample of interview (Figure 3)

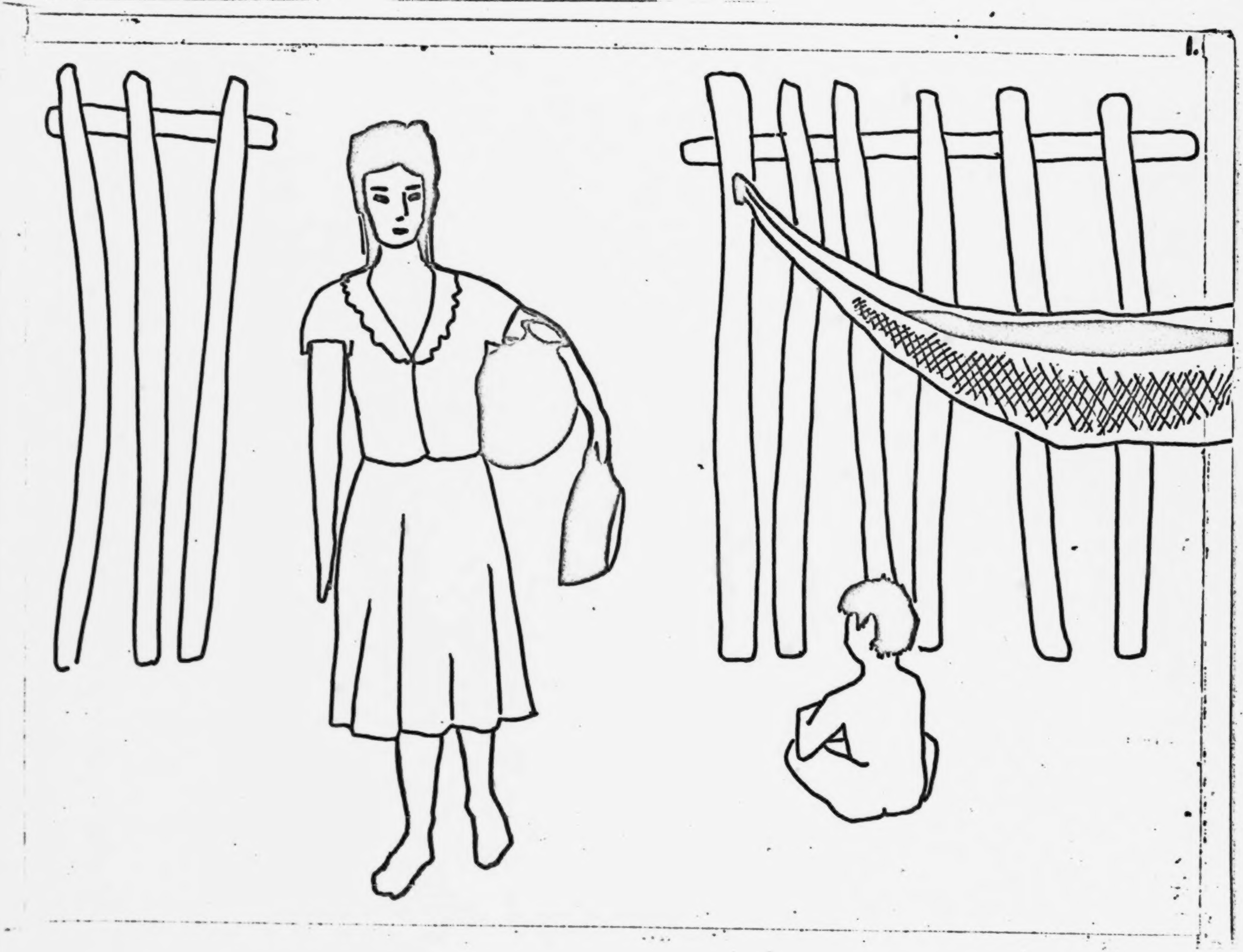
A. Tell me a story about what you see in this picture. Who appears in the picture? What is happening? Tell me more. What more can you tell me? Give me a more complete explanation. Can you tell me anything else about the drawing?

B. 1. Imagine that the women is bringing water to her sick children. Where does she get the water? Is it good water?

2. What illness does the child on the ground have? What caused the illness? What will the mother do to make him better?

3. What illness does the child in the hammock have, etc.

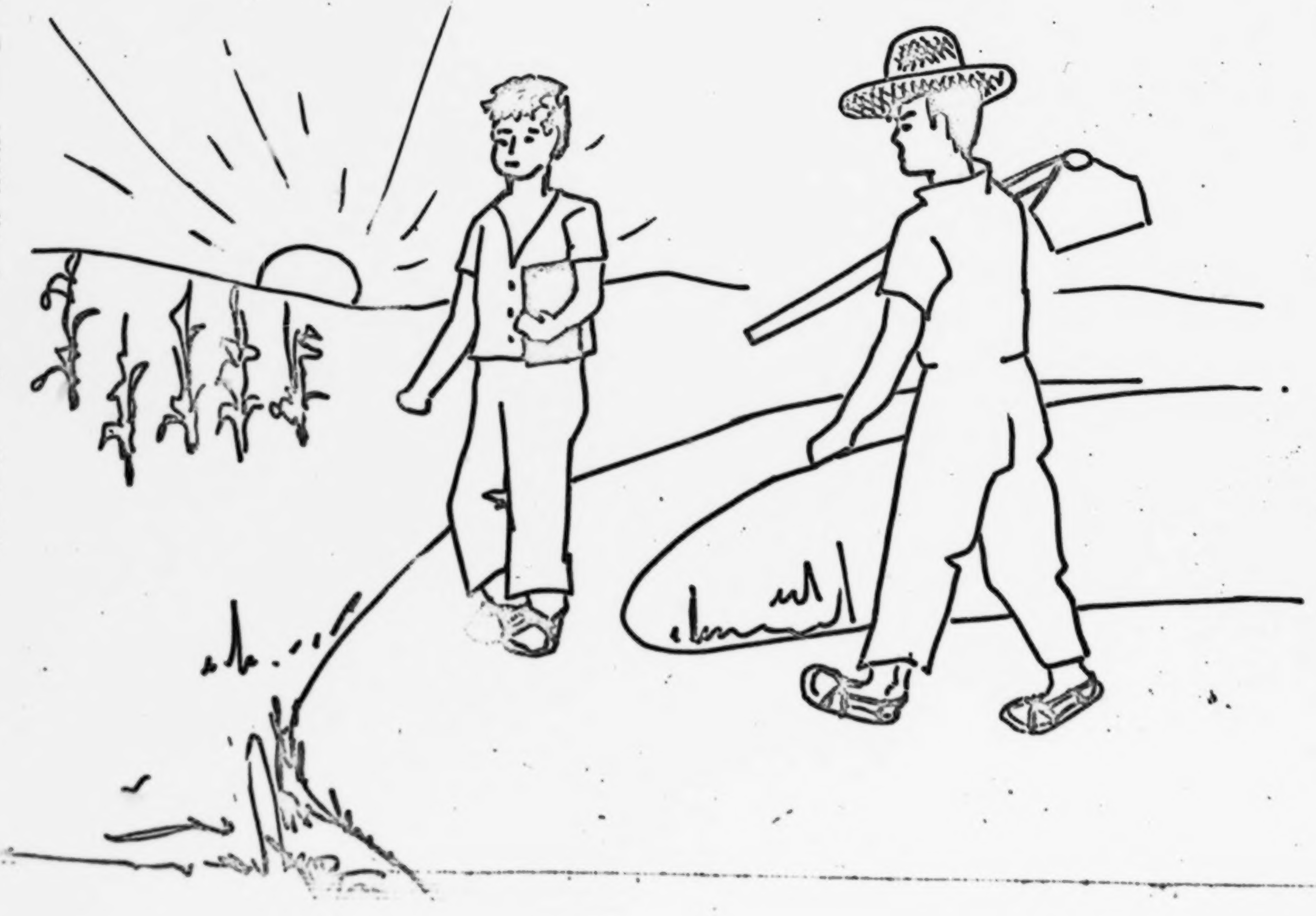
4. What does the mother give the children to eat?



1.

XERO COPY
XERO COPY
XERO COPY
XERO COPY

8B



XERO COPY

Fecha ____________________

Nombre ______________________________

Nombre del padre ______________________

Sexo: 1M 2F

Edad _____________

Años Escolaridad ______

Alfabeto ______

Tierras propias ______

Interview # ______

Notebook page # ______

Tape ______

Family hostory # ______

En estas tarjetas aparece un grupo de palabras. Nos interesa saber cuales son empleadas con mayor frecuencia por la gente y cuales palabras son usadas con menor frecuencia.

¿Podría leer usted ahora la frase que aparece escrita en la tarjeta?

1. En el pueblo compró cosas para su casa.
2. En el Instituto Agropecuario Nacional hay una oficina especial que ayuda a los campesinos.
3. El hombre movió su mano rápidamente en ademán de respeto.

ENTREVISTADOR: SI LA PERSONA DICE QUE NO SABE LEER, PREGUNTE:

¿Puede leer alguna o algunas de las palabras que aparecen en la tarjeta?

TARJETA No. 1

ENTREVISTADOR: ENTREGUE AL INFORMANTE LA TARJETA QUE MUESTRA UNA ESCALERA. SEÑALE EL EXTREMO SUPERIOR DE LA ESCALERA CADA VEZ QUE LO MENCIONE (EL EXTREMO SUPERIOR ES EL PELDAÑO No. 10). SEÑALE EL EXTREMO INFERIOR CADA VEZ QUE LO MENCIONE. AL HACER UNA PREGUNTA, MUEVA EL DEDO RAPIDAMENTE DE ARRIBA A ABAJO DE LA ESCALERA.

1. Aquí tiene un cuadro que representa una escalera. Supongamos que en el peldaño más alto está una persona que vive en las mejores condiciones posibles de vida y que en el peldaño más bajo está una persona que vive en las peores condiciones posibles de vida.

    a. ¿En cuál peldaño de la escalera diría usted que se encuentra actualmente? No. de peldaño______

    b. ¿En cuál peldaño de la escalera diría usted que estaba hace cinco años? No. de peldaño______

    c. ¿En cuál peldaño de la escalera piensa que estará Ud. dentro de cinco años? No. de peldaño______

    Diferencia 1-2______

    Diferencia 1-3______

2. Ahora cambiemos y supongamos que en el peldaño más alto están representadas las mayores esperanzas para Guatemala y que el peldaño más bajo representan sus peores temores para Guatemala.

    a. ¿En cual peldaño de la escalera piensa usted que está Guatemala en el momento actual? No. de peldaño______

    b. ¿En cuál peldaño de la escalera estaba Guatemala hace cinco años? No. de peldaño______

    c. ¿En cuál peldaño de la escalera estará Guatemala dentro de cinco años? No. de peldaño______

    Diferencia 1-2______

    Diferencia 1-3______

3. Suponga que en el peldaño más alto de la escalera está una persona libre de preocupaciones respecto al futuro, que se siente confiada y tranquila; en otras palabras segura. En el peldaño más bajo de la escalera está una persona que siente poca o ninguna seguridad.

   a. ¿ En cuál peldaño de la escalera se encuentra usted ahora? No. de peldaño______

   b. ¿ En cuál peldaño cree que estaba Ud. hace cinco años en lo que respecta al sentimiento de seguridad? No. de peldaño______

   c. ¿ En cuál peldaño cree que estará Ud. dentro de cinco años? No. de peldaño______

   Diferencia 1-2______

   Diferencia 1-3______

4. Ahora, en el peldaño más alto de la escalera está una persona que tiene mucha influencia sobre la gente con quien trabaja, sobre sus vecinos, amigos y otras personas. En el peldaño más bajo está una persona con poca o ninguna influencia sobre los demás.

   a. ¿ En cuál peldaño cree que está usted ahora? No. de peldaño______

   b. ¿ En cuál peldaño diría usted que estaba hace cinco años de acuerdo con el grado de influencia que tenía? No. de peldaño______

   c. ¿ En cuál peldaño piensa que estará dentro de cinco años? No. de peldaño______

   Dif. 1-2__________

   Dif. 1-3__________

5. En el peldaño más alto de la escalera está una persona a quien le agradan mucho las demás personas. Tiene muchos amigos y es una persona que agrada a sus vecinos, a sus compañeros de trabajo, etc. En el peldaño más bajo está una persona que no gusta de las demás personas y de quién los demás gustan poco.

   a. ¿ En cuál peldaño de la escalera está usted ahora? No. de peldaño______

   b. ¿ En cuál peldaño diría usted que estaba hace cinco años? No. de peldaño______

   c. ¿ En cuál peldaño piensa que estará Ud. dentro de cinco años? No. de peldaño______

   Dif. 1-2__________

   Dif. 1-3__________

6. En el peldaño más alto de la escalera está una persona que desea estar haciendo cosas nuevas siempre. Le gusta llevar una vida llena de emociones y cambios aún cuando ello le proporcione dificultades. En el peldaño más bajo está una persona que desea una vida muy segura, sin ningún cambio.

a. ¿En cuál peldaño de la escalera se situaría usted ahora? No. de peldaño______

b. ¿Dónde estaba usted hace cinco años? No. de peldaño______

c. ¿Dónde estará usted dentro de cinco años No. de peldaño______

Dif. 1-2__________

Dif. 1-3__________

7. En el peldaño más alto de la escalera está una persona muy religiosa. Para él la religión forma parte importante de casi todas sus actividades diarias. En el extremo inferior está una persona para quien la religión no forma parte de todas sus actividades diarias.

a. ¿En cuál peldaño de la escalera se situaría usted ahora? No. de peldaño______

b. ¿En cuál peldaño estaba usted hace cinco años? No. de peldaño______

Dif. 1-2__________

Dif. 1-3__________

8. En el peldaño más alto de la escalera está alguien a quien se le presentan todas las oportunidades y ocasiones de hacer cualquier cosa que desea. En el último peldaño está alguien que no puede hacer ninguna de las cosas que desea hacer.

¿En qué lugar de la escalera se encuentra usted ahora? No. de peldaño______

9. En el peldaño más alto de la escalera está alguien que puede hacer mucho para hacer su vida más feliz. En el peldaño inferior, o más bajo, está una persona que puede hacer muy poco para hacer su vida más feliz.

¿En qué lugar de la escalera se encuentra usted ahora? No. de peldaño______

ENTREVISTADOR: CAMBIE LA TARJETA Y USE LA QUE TIENE EL PELDAÑO DEL CENTRO (EL No.5) COLOREADO! PONGA EL DEDO SOBRE EL PELDAÑO NO. 5 Y DIGALE AL ENTREVISTADO LO SIGUIENTE:

Usemos ahora la escalera de manera diferente. Compárese ahora con tales cosas como su país y su familia. En esta tarjeta, imagínese que usted está ahora en el centro de la escalera. Hacia la parte superior de la escalera están las cosas que son más importantes que usted y hacia la parte inferior de la escalera están las cosas que son menos importantes que usted.

10. Si en la parte superior se colocan las cosas que son más importantes que usted y en la parte inferior las cosas que son menos importantes que usted y usted está en el centro:

   a. ¿Dónde pondría usted a su comunidad? ¿Más importante o menos importante que usted? No. de peldaño______

   b. ¿Y su familia? Cuánto más importante o menos importante que usted? No. de peldaño______

   c. ¿Y su país? A dónde lo colocaría Ud.? No. de peldaño______

   d. ¿En qué peldaño colocaría su trabajo o su campo de actividad? No. de peldaño______

(en blanco)

(en blanco)

(en blanco)

11. Algunas personas opinan que se debería probar nuevos métodos para criar a los niños siempre que sea posible. Otras opinan que es peligroso probar nuevos métodos.

¿Qué opina usted respecto a la siguiente afirmación que le voy a leer? "Siempre se deban probar nuevos métodos para criar a los niños".

Decididamente de acuerdo	1______
Un poco de acuerdo	2______
No sabe	3______
Un poco en desacuerdo	4______
Decididamente en desacuerdo	5______

12. La dirección de los asuntos del pueblo es una tarea importante. Supóngase que el Alcalde de un pueblo está haciendo cosas muy buenas. ¿Cree usted que hay que cambiarlo cuando termine su período para darle oportunidad a otras personas, o cree que es mejor dejarlo si está haciendo cosas muy buenas?

Decididamente hay que cambiarlo 1________

Un poco de acuerdo 2________

No sabe 3________

Un poco en desacuerdo 4________

Decididamente en desacuerdo 5________

13. Algunas personas son más conservadoras en su manera de ser que otras. ¿Cómo se clasificaría usted?

Yo encuentro muy fácil cambiar mi manera de ser 1________

Yo encuentro algo fácil cambiar mi manera de ser 2________

Yo encuentro algo difícil cambiar 3________

Yo encuentro muy difícil cambiar 4________

No sé 5________

14. Usemos la escalera una vez más. Arriba de la escalera están todas las cosas que son muy importantes para usted, y abajo todas las que no son importantes. Dónde pondría usted las siguientes cosas:

a. Los relojes No. de peldaño______

b. El cambio No. de peldaño______

c. El almanaque No. de peldaño______

d. Los negocios No. de peldaño______

e. La incaparina No. de peldaño______

f. Saber leer y escribir No. de peldaño______

g. Dinero No. de peldaño______

15. Si usted recibiera un regalo de una cantidad de dinero igual a lo que usted gana en un año en su actual empleo:

a. ¿ Invertiría la mayor parte en un negocio de grandes riesgos por obtener una gran ganancia? 1________

b. ¿ Pondría la mayor parte en el banco y otra parte la invertiría en un negocio de muy poco riesgo pero que le reportaría una ganancia pequeña 2________

c. ¿ No la invertiría del todo? 3________

A

FECHA Julio ___,1962

ENTREVISTA # ________

ENTREVISTADOR ____________________

____
Nombres de informantes

	NOMBRE	LUGAR DE NACIMIENTO	EDAD	AÑOS DE ESCOLARIDAD	ALFABETO
1. MADRE					
2. PADRE					

3. OCUPACION DEL PADRE ____________________

NIÑOS:

4. NOMBRE (VIVO "A" MUERTO "B")	NOMBRE DEL PADRE	EDAD	AÑOS DE ESCOLARIDAD	EN ESCUELA AHORA	ALFABETO	CASADO	DONDE VIVE

NIETOS:

5. NOMBRE (VIVO "A" MUERTO "B")	NOMBRE DEL PADRE	EDAD	AÑOS DE ESCOLARIDAD	EN ESCUELA AHORA	ALFABETO	CASADO	DONDE VIVE

6. FAMILIARES DEL PADRE:

SUS RELACIONES	NOMBRE	LUGAR DE NACIMIENTO	EDAD	EDAD EN QUE MURIO
MADRE				
PADRE				
HERMANOS				
—				
—				
—				
HERMANAS				
—				
—				
—				
—				

7. NUMERO DE PRIMOS ____ NUMERO DE SOBRINOS ____ NUMERO DE SOBRINAS ___

8. FAMILIARES DE LA MADRE

SUS RELACIONES	NOMBRE	LUGAR DE NACIMIENTO	EDAD	EDAD EN QUE MURIO
MADRE				
PADRE				
HERMANOS				
—				
—				
—				
—				
HERMANAS				
—				
—				
—				
—				

9. NUMERO DE PRIMOS ____ NUMERO DE SOBRINOS ____ NUMERO DE SOBRINAS ___

CASA:

10. TIPO DE CASA: CASA ( ) MEDIO AGUA ( ) RANCHO ( )

11. CONSTRUCCION: LADRILLO ( ) ADOBE ( ) BAJAREQUE ( ) ENTOLDADO ( )

12. TECHO: TEJA ( ) PAJA ( ) OTRO ( )

13. PISO: LADRILLO ( ) CEMENTO ( ) TIERRA ( )

14. CUARTOS: COCINA SEPARADA ( ) UN CUARTO ( ) DOS CUARTOS ( ) TRES CUARTOS ( )

15. ALUMBRADO: (ELEC, GASOLINA, CANDELA, JOCOTE, ETC.) ________________

16. VENTANAS (INDIQUE NUMERO) ______

17. CAMAS (INDIQUE NUMERO) ______

18. HAMACAS (INDIQUE NUMERO) ______

19. SILLAS (INDIQUE NUMERO) ______

20. MESAS (INDIQUE NUMERO) ______

FUENTE DE AGUA:

21. POZO PROPIO ( ) POZO DEL VECINO ( ) NACIMIENTO DE AGUA ( ) RIO ( )
FILTRADO ( )

LAVADO:

22. PILA ( ) RIO ( )

SANITACION:

23. LETRINA ( ) CAMPO O BOSQUE ( ) DISTANCIA EN METROS DE SU CASA ( )

TIERRA PROPIA O ALQUILADA - PRODUCTOS AGRICOLAS DURANTE EL AÑO 1961-1962
(Julio a Julio)

24. NUMERO DE MANZANAS PROPIAS (TITULADA) ______

25. NUMERO DE MANZANAS TRABAJADAS EN TIERRA COMUNAL ______

26. NUMERO DE MANZANAS ALQUILADAS ______

27. NUMERO DE MANZANAS IRRIGADAS EN VERANO ______

28. PRODUCTOS AGRICOLAS (INDIQUE NUMERO DE MANZANAS EN CADA UNO; I=INVIERNO V=VERANO)

I- MAIZ ( )	V- MAIZ ( )	OTROS PRODUCTOS AGRICOLAS:
I- FRIJOLES ( )	V- FRIJOLES ( )	______________ ( )
I- CAÑA ( )	I- CAFE ( )	______________ ( )
I- TABACO ( )		______________ ( )
I- ARROZ ( )		______________ ( )

INDIQUE CLASE Y NUMERO DE ARBOLES FRUTALES:

29. NARANJA ( ) LIMON ( ) AGUACATE ( ) PAPAYA ( ) ________( ) ________( )
________ ( ) ______________ ( ).

GANADO Y OTROS ANIMALES: (INDIQUE NUMERO DE CADA UNO)

30. VACAS LECHERAS ( ) NOVILLOS ( ) TOROS ( ) BUEYES ( ) CABALLOS ( )
CERDOS ( ) GALLINAS ( ) CHOMPIPES ( ) PATOS ( ) ____________ ( )

TRABAJO MIGRATORIO (ENTRE Julio 1961 - Julio 1962 SOLAMENTE)

31. EL PADRE DEJO EL JOCOTE PARA TRABAJAR? ( ) CUANTO TIEMPO - EN SEMANAS ( )
DONDE? ________________ CUANDO? ____________________

32. LOS NIÑOS DEJARON EL JOCOTE PARA TRABAJAR? ( ) CUANTOS NIÑOS? ( ) CUANTO
TIEMPO? ( ) DONDE? __________________ CUANDO? __________________

PRODUCTOS SEMBRADOS PARA EL CONSUMO Y VENTA DURANTE EL PERIODO DE JULIO 1, 1961 A JULIO 1, 1962.

33. PRODUCTOS SEMBRADOS PARA EL CONSUMO DE LA CASA: (1961-1962)

MAIZ: QUINTALES ( ) MANZANAS ( )
FRIJOLES: QUINTALES ( ) MANZANAS ( )
OTROS:
____________ QUINTALES ( ) MANZANAS ( )
____________ QUINTALES ( ) MANZANAS ( )
____________ QUINTALES ( ) MANZANAS ( )

34. ANIMALES PARA CONSUMO DE LA CASA: (INDIQUE NUMERO) POLLOS ( ) __________( )
______________ ( ) ____________ ( ) ________________ ( )

35. PRODUCTOS SEMBRADOS PARA LA VENTA: (1961-1962)

MAIZ: QUINTALES ( ) MANZANAS ( )
FRIJOLES: QUINTALES ( ) MANZANAS ( )
CAFE: QUINTALES ( ) MANZANAS ( )
TABACO: QUINTALES ( ) MANZANAS ( )
PANELA: QUINTALES ( ) MANZANAS ( )
________ QUINTALES ( ) MANZANAS ( )

ANIMALES (INDIQUE NUMERO) CERDOS ( ) GALLINAS ( ) ________( )
______________ ( ) ______________ ( )

6. ENTRADAS DE LAS VENTAS DE LOS PRODUCTOS: (EN 1961-1962) Q. ____________

7. ENTRADAS DE OTROS FUENTES: Q. ____________

8. VALOR DEL MAIZ Y FRIJOL COMPRADO PARA EL CONSUMO DE MAYO Y JUNIO 1962: Q.______

ALIMENTOS PARA EL CONSUMO:

9. QUE ES LO QUE SU FAMILIA ACOSTUMBRA COMER:

			OTROS
DESAYUNO:	TORTILLAS ( )	FRIJOLES ( )	
ALMUERZO:	TORTILLAS ( )	FRIJOLES ( )	
CENA:	TORTILLAS ( )	FRIJOLES ( )	

0. CADA CUANTO COME SU FAMILIA (CHEQUEE UNO)

	DIARIA MENTE	SEMANAL MENTE	QUINCENAL MENTE	MENSUAL MENTE	FIESTAS	NUNCA
TAMALES						
QUESO						
LECHE						
CARNE						
POLLO						
CERDO						
OTROS						

11. SI TUVIERA Ud LA OPORTUNIDAD DE ESCOGER SU COMIDA, QUE CLASE DE COMIDA ESCOGERIA Ud?

____________, ____________, ____________, ____________, ____________,

____________, ____________, ____________, ____________, ____________,

12. ALIMENTACION DEL NIÑO: (MARQUE EN LAS COLUMNAS)

	PECHO	PACHA	TORTILLAS	FRIJOLES	OTROS
1 - 6 MESES					
6 - 12 MESES					
12 - 18 MESES					
18 - 24 MESES					

3. **SALUD** (SI EL INDIVIDUO FALLECIO EN EL AÑO, INDIQUE EN LA COLUMNA QUE CORRESPONDE Y DIGA LA CAUSA)

ENFERMEDADES (Ultimo año)	PADRE	MADRE	HIJOS EN EDADES DE MAYOR A MENOR HIJO MAYOR = 1										
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	MEDICINA USADA
CATARRO													
BOCIO													
LOMBRICES													
DENTICION													
OJOS													
OIDOS													
DESNUTRICION													
TOS FERINA													
DIFTERIA													
ULCERA													
TUBERCULOSIS													
HERNIA													
TIFOIDEA													
TETANO													
PAPERAS													
SARAMPION													
POLIO													
MALARIA													
FRACTURAS													
MENTAL													
VISITAS AL DOCTOR													
VISITAS AL HOSPITAL													
DECESO													
INYECCIONES													

44. ES SU MANERA DE VIVIR DIFERENTE QUE LA DE SU PADRE? __________ EN QUE MODO? ____

45. CREE QUE SUS HIJOS VIVIRAN DEL MISMO MODO QUE Ud? __________ QUE CAMBIOS HABRAN? ________

6. QUE CAMBIOS LE GUSTARIA TENER EN SU VIDA? ______________________

7. QUE ES LO QUE MAS NECESITAN LAS PERSONAS DE EL JOCOTE? ______________

48. HA USADO INCAPORINA ALGUNA VEZ? __________

49. QUE CREE QUE HARA EL NUEVO PUENTE PARA Ud? ______________________

50. NECESITA EL JOCOTE UNA NUEVA ESCUELA? ________

51. PORQUE ES IMPORTANTE o PORQUE NO ES IMPORTANTE? ______________________

52. SI EL JOCOTE TUVIERA UNA NUEVA ESCUELA, PODRIAN ASISTIR SUS HIJOS o TENDRIAN QUE TRABAJAR? ___

53. QUIEN DEBERIA CONSTRUIR LA NUEVA ESCUELA? ______________________

____

54. HA ESTADO EN GUATEMALA? ______ CUANDO? ______________

HA ESTADO EN JUTIAPA? ______ CUANDO? ______________

HA ESTADO EN ASUNCION MITA? __________ CUANDO? __________

HA ESTADO EN SONSONATE, EL SALVADOR? __________ CUANDO? __________

HA ESTADO EN ESQUIPULAS? __________ CUANDO? __________

55. CUANDO FUE LA ULTIMA VEZ QUE OYO RADIO? __________ DONDE? __________

56. HA VISTO UNA PELICULA? __________ DONDE? __________ CUANTAS VECES? __________
QUE VIO LA ULTIMA VEZ? ______________________________.

57. VOTO Ud EN LA ULTIMA ELECCION? (DECEMBER 1961) __________

58. CUANDO FUE LA ULTIMA VEZ QUE ANDUVO EN CAMIONETA O CARRO? __________ A DONDE
FUE EN ESE VIAJE? ____________________ PORQUE? ____________________

59. HA PEDIDO AYUDA DEL GOBIERNO ALGUNA VEZ? __________ QUE CLASE DE AYUDA? __________.
____

60. HA RECIBIDO AYUDA DEL GOBIERNO ALGUNA VEZ? __________(AGRICOLA, SALUD, ETC) POR
FAVOR DESCRIBA LA AYUDA QUE HA RECIBIDO ______________________________
____
____
____

61. COMO CONOCE LOS PRECIOS DE LOS PRODUCTOS QUE VA A VENDER? (COMO SABE SI LOS PRECIOS SERAN BUENOS O MALOS ANTES DE IR AL MERCADO). ____________________
____________________. COMO RECIBE LAS NOTICIAS? (DEL PAIS, DEL DEPARTA-
ENTO) ____
EE ALGUN PERIODICO? __________ CONOCE A ALGUIEN QUE LEA EL PERIODICO? __________
QUIEN? ____________________ LE CUENTA LAS NOTICIAS? ______ QUIEN LE CUENTA LAS NOTICIAS? ____________________ OYE Ud. EL RADIO? ____________________.

63. (SI APLICABLE) CUANDO TRABAJA PARA OTROS CUANTO RECIBE DIARIAMENTE? __________
____________________ ____.

64. CUANTO CREE QUE DEBERIA RECIBIR UN TRABAJADOR DE CAMPO? [illegible]. ____________________